

JUL 5 1939

Land policy REVIEW

pl. II

PERIODICAL ROOM
GENERAL LIBRARY
UNIV. OF MICHIGAN

MAY-JUNE 1939

No. 3

"We, the People. . ."

by F. F. ELLIOTT

WITHOUT the exercise of foresight, and without the application of the best technical information available, the economic life of a complex society is likely to experience periodic difficulties. At the same time, unless the common man, the everyday citizen, is directly associated with the exercise of the foresight and the application of the technique, he will come more and more to live under a policy that is not of his making. It was with good reason, therefore, that State and local committees upon which the farmer has major representation were selected as the means for developing agricultural planning in our democratic country. These committees offer the farmers of the United States an opportunity to strengthen the democratic process while working out national policy at the point where national policy most closely touches their daily lives.

The theory of democracy has always envisaged the American citizen as the ultimate maker of policy. "We, the People," are duly inscribed in the Constitution as the final sanctioning agent of Government policy, the source wherein national sovereignty resides. This is common knowledge. But it is equally common knowledge that theory and practice, in recent generations, have had little relation to each other.

Erosion of the agricultural land of the country has not been the only type of erosion going on. Erosion of the soil in which democracy can grow has also taken place at an accelerating rate. In theory we have the permeation of all institutions by the public thought of myriad individuals, with the stream of policy running clear from manifold minor sources until it is united in the national will. In practice we have seen polluted pools in the great cities and stagnant waters in towns and counties further upstream, and the cutting of artificial channels as a result.

Until recent years, many of our American farm families had little or no participation in public life. Their energy was absorbed by their private affairs. The same was true of many of the best citizens in other walks of life. Under such circumstances, the concept of the general welfare withered. Government policy was too largely policy dictated by special interests that made the effort to express what they wanted, and won their point by default in the absence of the give and take, the argument, which is the essence of democratic procedure. Either in terms of geography or in terms of economic base, these special interests were usually provincial; some of the raids on the Treasury or on the natural resources of the country were carried through by representatives of regions; others, by representatives of occupations, but they used a common technique.

Government by pressure groups operated without too obvious weaknesses during the period when public resources were being converted into private property, and when American economic life was expanding both its vertical superstructure and its geographic base; during the period, that is to say, when the costs of planlessness could still be deferred to the future. With the end of that period, the making of national policy, and of farm policy as a part of national policy, had to take a different form.

Policy-Making by Explosion

There are, obviously, a number of ways in which farm policy can be made. Under stress of long-continued unfavorable circumstances, due either to the absence of a policy or to the maintenance of a policy that has proved unsuitable, farm policy is likely to be made by explosion. Some incident, some last straw, will serve as a fuse for pent-up emotion, and the Government will be blasted either into taking action or into altering its previous course.

Such an effort on the part of the people to exercise sovereignty directly and en masse produces government by fiat, and a fiat into which more emotion than thought is likely to have been put. It is the exasperated resumption of the powers for the exercise of which the Constitution provided orderly channels.

An alternative to policy-making by popular explosion, and often a sequel of it, is executive policy-making or the imposition of policy from

above. In response to the popular demand that something be done, the executive undertakes to do something drastic and to do it fast. This type of highly centralized action allows little scope for expression of the regional variations and variations of cultural pattern important to the life of a Nation that covers half a continent. And it allows still less scope for the local control and local expression of opinion essential to a democracy.

Neither policy-making by explosion nor policy-making by executive action is apt to occur in a society where democratic practise is reasonably in accord with democratic theory. The due process of law with which free citizens have long been familiar is paralleled by a due process of policy-making, an orderly common consideration of current facts, desired objectives, and means of effecting the changes felt to be needed; when this process is functioning neither resumption of original jurisdiction by the people, nor assumption of extra powers by the executive is necessary.

Policy-Making by Concurrent Action

Due process of agricultural policy-making requires concurrent action by a number of different types of people, by practising farmers, by technicians, by administrators. It requires the collaboration of professionals and volunteers, of paid, full-time officials with operating farmers who have only part of their time to give to general farm policy-making. It requires the combination, at each level of policy-making, of the plans that issue from the laboratory, or researches of the expert, with the requirements of practicability on which the administrator lays stress and with the sense of the meeting that results from the give-and-take of farmer opinion on the ground where the plan is to operate.

The farm programs of 1933 were the result of action taken after action had been too long deferred. The programs under the Farm Act of that year were calculated in national terms—in terms of the national surpluses to be reduced with limited consideration of the effect they would have upon the individual farms on which the reduction was to take place. And they were representative of the views of the rank and file of farmers only because the administrators in charge of them had been closely in touch with farm opinion during the years prior to national recognition of agriculture's difficulties.

These administrators were wholly aware of the shortcomings of emergency action. Even during the hectic days between March 4 and May 12, 1933, when the original Agricultural Adjustment Act became law, the halls of the Department of Agriculture were filled with delegations of farmers and representatives of farm organizations, who had been called in to advise on drafts of the proposed law. At the same time, the cooperation of State and local agricultural officials was sought, and as soon as programs were actually instituted all contract signers concerned with each basic commodity were organized into county production con-

trol associations for that commodity. The executive committees of these associations became the local administrators of the program.

Referenda as the Farmer's Loudspeaker

During 1934, to the administrative functions performed by contract signers through their control associations was added the function of expressing an opinion for or against existing adjustment measures in the corn-hog referendum on a corn-hog adjustment program for 1935 and the votes of cotton and tobacco growers under the Bankhead and Kerr-Smith Acts.

During 1935, the cooperation of the research staffs of the agricultural colleges and the extension specialists was sought in the regional adjustment project, to investigate what changes in cropping systems and farm practices were needed in the interest of agricultural conservation, and what relation these changes bore to the changes in national production of the basic commodities which market conditions indicated as desirable.

During 1935, increasing thought was given to the possibility of moving away from the individual commodity to the entire farm as the basis for the adjustment contract. The county planning project, begun in the autumn of that year, set committees of farmers in over 2,400 counties to work with the Extension Services analyzing the changes in the crop acreages of the county needed from the standpoint of conservation.

The County Commodity Groups Unite

The Hoosac Mills decision accelerated the move toward a program based on conservation, under the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act of 1936. Immediately after the passage of this act, regional hearings were held, where administrators and farmers and farm organization leaders discussed the type of program possible under the new set-up. At the same time, the county associations that formerly had been built on the basis of the several commodities were united into a single body for the administration of the A. A. A. conservation program.

The planning of the 1937 program included county and community meetings throughout the country where the effectiveness of the 1936 program was assessed and suggestions for revision offered. These suggestions were summarized by counties and States and transmitted, after review on the State level, to Washington.

In 1937 and 1938 the possibilities for differential adjustment were further tested through the establishment of experimental counties. In these counties farmers under legal limitations of the legislation are given free rein to see if the objectives of the Agricultural Adjustment Act can be attained through the adoption of simpler and more flexible devices, or devices better suited to local topography and farm management than the practices encouraged by the general national program.

At the same time that these various vehicles for the expression of farm opinion were being developed by the A. A. A., comparable structures were growing up in connection with other action programs related to agriculture. Soil conservation associations were created in connection with the Soil Conservation Service, and as States increasingly adopted soil conservation district laws, district committees were established. The work of the Farm Security Administration was closely tied in with its advisory committees, its tenant purchase committees, its farm debt adjustment committees.

With the multiplication of the various action programs and the instructions related to them, a need for coordination became increasingly felt on national, State, and local levels. In 1938, two major steps were taken to meet the need.

On the national level, the reorganization of the Department of Agriculture included the assignment of responsibility for central planning in connection with farm programs to the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Federal-State relations were clarified by the Mount Weather agreement between the Department of Agriculture and the Land-Grant College Association. This agreement approved the setting up of land-use planning committees on the State level and county agricultural planning committees on the local level. Both the State and the local committee structure provided for representation of all the current agricultural action programs and for presentation of the views of laymen, administrators, and technicians in relation to each.

The Farmer as Consultant and Auditor

Agricultural county planning committees are projected in all the three thousand-odd counties, but detailed planning obviously cannot be started in all of them at once. Intensive work is being done this year in some 300 to 500 counties looking toward the preparation of a unified program to meet the problems of the county. In the formulation of this program joint use is to be made of local, State, and Federal resources. It is proposed that in at least one such county a State provision be made for action within the year on the recommendations that grow out of the deliberations of the county planning committee.

Clearly, the making of county plans of this type is going to expand the degree of local planning beyond coordination of the action programs of the Department of Agriculture. On the local level, such surveys will encourage examination of the efficiency of county government. Local problems, the remedies for which lie in State action, such as problems of tax delinquency, are similarly likely to be investigated in the course of consideration of land use. National action programs in force in the county but for which representation is not specifically provided on the planning committee—programs such as those related to relief, to roads, to education—are also sure to receive attention.

The growth of democratizing institutions, both in their coverage and in the intensity with which action through them is carried on, presents a notable record for the past 6 years. It is a record, however, that needs to be continually assessed with a view to its continued improvement.

Probably few people at all familiar with agricultural developments in recent years would have doubts as to the desirability of an agency the function of which is to consider the needs of the county in relation to the various national programs active in the county. With the A. A. A., the F. S. A., the S. C. S., the F. C. A., the W. P. A., the N. Y. A., the C. C. C., the Social Security Board, and the Public Health Service active within their borders, counties recently have been in much the same situation as farms under the old commodity programs, when two or even three separate commodity contracts, containing unrelated provisions, were simultaneously in force on their acres.

Probably equally few people would question the desirability of an institution that encourages farmers to act not only as farm operators under various national programs and administrators of those programs in their immediate areas, but also as consultants on the objectives and techniques of the programs of the future, and auditors of the general social effects of present programs.

Will County Plans Be Provincial Plans?

Granted the general desirability of bringing the citizen into a responsible relationship with the policy-making process, the question then becomes, what are the techniques through which this responsible relationship may best be expressed? From that point of view, the county agricultural planning committees now operating constitute a series of political science experiment stations, in which part of the democratic procedure of the future is being worked out.

Some of the questions to which they are in process of finding answers are these:

To what extent will the focusing of attention on county problems make the planners provincial in their point of view? The sub rosa growth of interstate barriers to trade has been proceeding in recent years at a rate sufficient to rouse considerable concern—will county planning tend to atomize the country into 3,000 islands of economic self-sufficiency? Or can a sense of the national general welfare remain a sufficient factor in the sense of the county welfare for the sum of the plans of the counties, when made, to add up to a total that is desirable from the standpoint of the nation as a whole?

How can local committees be selected so as to be genuinely representative? Except where the election of certain members of local committees is required by law, there is considerable variation over the country as to whether local committees are elected or appointed. In either case, it is important to examine the representation in the resulting group.

Where committees are elected, does the chosen group correspond to a cross section of the farming population, or does it tend to be made up of the better-to-do farmers who are well-known throughout the community? If the latter, are the proposals made, or the regulations adopted, likely to favor large-scale, highly commercialized, landowning interests as over against the interests of tenants or laborers, or small owners whose less highly capitalized operations are likely to be of a more nearly self-sufficient type? Is this tendency particularly apt to vitiate the democratic process when various interests, say large owners and small owners, have to divide an advantage, as in the case of regulations governing the use of range made by grazing associations under the Taylor Act, or issuance of grazing permits for use of national forest lands?

Does election of local committees tend to put the farm programs into politics, so that petty courthouse feuds are extended into the fields around the county seat until farm programs are judged less and less on their intrinsic merits?

Should only farmers vote and be voted for? Should committees engaged in local work on agricultural programs be confined to farmers chosen by the farmers of the area, or should the merchants and bankers of the district be given some part in determining policies that affect their immediate welfare along with that of the farmers? (Their interest is recognized now in the case of the debt-adjustment committees.)

Exasperation Without Representation?

How do committees appointed by the county agent compare with those elected by fellow farmers? Is the county agent under pressure to select the "representative citizens," the landowners, rather than give places on the committee to less fortunately situated farmers in the community? Does the history of the division of A. A. A. payments between landlords and sharecroppers in the South record friction along these lines in an area where committees have been largely appointed? To what extent do local F. S. A. activities represent the making of farm policy for one group of farmers by another group of farmers?

Does the weakness which elected committees exhibit when they become embroiled in local politics have a counterpart under an appointive arrangement? Is the county agent tempted to turn to men who are known to be strong supporters of the Extension Service and pick those who have a reputation for "going along," leaving the less tractable on the side?

Does the inclusion on the planning committees of farmers who are being paid for their services in the local administration of action programs result in confusion between genuine farmer opinion and the opinion of men who while operating farms are none the less the "hired men" of the programs?

Under either the elective or the appointive system, how good a job of representation has been done when the community consists of two or

more races, whites and Negroes, whites and Mexicans, whites and Orientals?

Is a combination of election and appointment desirable? That is the present arrangement of local soil-conservation district committees, and of many county agricultural planning committees; its use has been particularly frequent when a combination of lay and technical opinion was needed. Under such circumstances should the practising farmers of the area elect the lay members, and the organizations with which the technicians are affiliated designate the experts?

Combining the Blueprint and the Sense of the Meeting

How can technical and lay opinion be combined? The establishment of a proper relationship between the views of the man behind the plow and the views of the man behind the calculating machine is probably the key problem in farm policy-making. Where "book-farming" is distrusted, the advantages resulting from scientific investigation lie dormant and the basis for collective action is nullified. On the other hand, where technicians dismiss horse sense as local prejudice, and attempt to force the perfectionism of the laboratory down the throats of the community, progress is also blocked. But where the contributions which the expert and the eyewitnesses each can make as to the erosive effect of certain farm practices; as to the carrying capacity of a given piece of range; as to the suitability of a farm for tenant purchase; as to the ability of a debtor to pay off his loan—where these can be locally fused in a recommendation acceptable to both technician and practical farmer, science and society have learned to live with each other. Once the technician forgets his essentially advisory capacity, however, bureaucracy is at hand. The technician's function is to assemble facts and reliable estimates of the consequences of alternative uses that may be made of them. Decision as to what is to be done in the light of this evidence is the function of the citizen and those he elects to represent him, whose tenure, unlike the tenure of the bureaucrat, is subject to his will.

Is Local Policy Making Nothing But Play-acting?

Where the blueprint and the sense of the meeting are not fused on the local level, the layman and the expert are likely to race each other up to the administrator. And before the administrator, the layman tends to be at a disadvantage; he is a part-time volunteer contesting the views of a full-time professional, who, moreover, is employed by the same organization that employs the administrator.

Clearly, to the extent that administrators consistently discard local views and accept the views of experts—on the extent of terracing required, and the succession of crops desirable to prevent run-off; or on

the amount of improvements that a rehabilitation borrower can pay back as contrasted with the amount some minimum standard indicates he should have; or on the amount of land that should be diverted from row crops in a given county—the work of local committees takes on the character of merely going through the motions. Local assumption of responsibility then becomes a talking point rather than a fact.

Weak county committees that invite official dominance are defaulting on the democratic process at the point where they might otherwise exert their maximum effect on it. They avoid the exertion of finding out about their local situation. They avoid taking the heat on the decisions that must be made if adjustment is to be differentiated in terms of local practices and local topography instead of being forced into conformity with a rigid national formula. And by their avoidance they make a major contribution to bureaucracy, to the entrenchment of officials who will claim to know what is good for the local people because the local people are too supine to find out what is good for themselves.

Air Plants Have No Roots

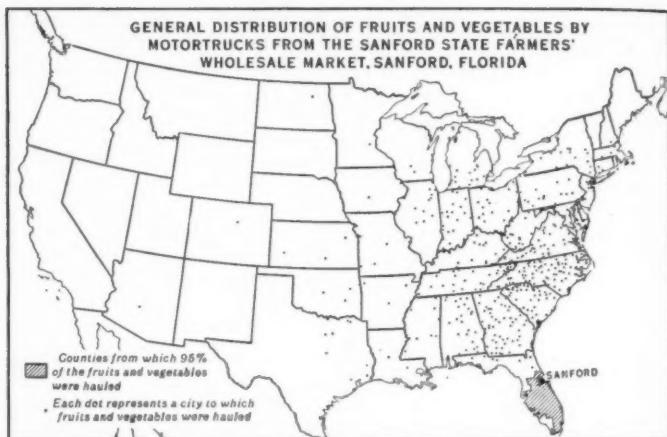
Nor do the officials stand to gain any more than the farmers from such a state of affairs. Unless the program under which they are operating is a program about which farmers have genuine convictions based on their own observations and activities, the thing becomes an air plant, with no roots, no stability, no capacity to withstand adverse winds. Such a program could be maintained over a period of years only by offering such financial inducements for participation that farmers could not afford to stay out. And in the absence of continuous local correctives, it is not improbable that such a program eventually would get so far out of line in its economic effects as to cause farmers to have recourse to policy making by explosion.

For the administrative line of policy making is not the only line open to the citizen. Bureaucratic activities that set themselves up as untouchable nevertheless can be reached by the legislative arm. The legislature, however, while it can wipe out an administration that has lost touch with the people, can go no farther than laying down the main outlines of the procedure that is to take its place.

With the growing complexity of economic society, the specific aspects of national policy usually are best worked out if worked out jointly under a general legislative mandate, by the technicians, administrators, and citizens with whose occupational specialty the legislation is concerned. Where the democratic process is actively functioning, where citizens are engaged in a continual audit of their public purposes and the techniques they are using to accomplish those purposes, the institutions they now have can serve as experimental models for improved institutions in the future. Given this healthy activity, the framework of American farm institutions will resist both the dry rot of citizen apathy and the spreading fungus of bureaucracy.

Markets for Southern Farmers

by WILLIAM C. CROW



GOOD land-use policy depends not only on climatic conditions and the physical and chemical characteristics of the soil, but also on the available market outlets for the commodities that can be produced from that soil.

A striking example of this may be found in the Southeast, where the critical condition of the cotton market has led to a desire to find more profitable uses for the soil. Opportunities for increased income from fruits and vegetables, livestock, dairy, and poultry products have all been explored, and production of a number of these commodities has expanded. At the present time any further shift in this direction may be somewhat limited until more satisfactory markets can be developed in the area.

For this reason the agricultural colleges of four Southeastern States and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics are cooperating in a study to develop a sound marketing program for fruits and vegetables. The success or failure of such a marketing program has an important bearing on land use in this area.

Production of fruits and vegetables in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida on a tonnage basis has increased more than 30 percent since 1931, an increase much greater than that for the country as a whole. This increased production is finding its way to consumers throughout the entire area east of the Mississippi

River. As an illustration, these six States in 1931 furnished about 25 percent of the reported supplies of fruits and vegetables (other than bananas) in the markets of New York City and Philadelphia, while by 1938 their proportion had risen to more than 30 percent.

Along with this increase in production has come a marked shift in the methods of transportation. The relative importance of rail movement has materially declined. While the tonnage produced in these States was increasing more than 20 percent, rail and boat shipments from the area declined 17 percent. Motortruck receipts of fruits and vegetables in New York and Philadelphia from these six Southeastern States were the equivalent of more than 17,000 carloads in 1938—about 7 times the figure for 1931. Therefore, the area is confronted with a twofold problem in its fruit and vegetable industry, that of providing adequate markets for expanded production, and of making the necessary adjustments to care for increased motortruck movement.

A large part of the trucking of fruits and vegetables from the Southeastern States is carried on by merchant truckmen who buy in the producing region and sell in consuming areas several hundred miles away. In many cases these truckmen go from farm to farm assembling their produce. This is unsatisfactory for both the truckman and the grower. It is often difficult and inconvenient for the trucker to assemble his load in this way. For the grower this method of operation gives a restricted outlet and is likely to result in his receiving a price lower than general conditions warrant. Furthermore, often being dependent upon the one trucker who may or may not come, the farmer finds that his sales outlet is uncertain and he is therefore afraid of having, and actually may have, his perishable produce left on his hands to spoil.

Disorderly Trucking Means Chaotic Markets

The handling of ever-increasing quantities by merchant-truckmen who roam over the country results in other evils. Information on supply, demand conditions, and prices is almost impossible to obtain. A real competitive market is not established. It is difficult to enforce desirable regulations, and the whole marketing system is in danger of falling into a chaotic condition. This does not mean that the merchant-truckman should be discriminated against, for in many cases he is the only outlet the grower has. It does mean that an orderly system of markets must be established where all desirable elements in the industry can operate economically.

In order to make the necessary adaptations in the marketing system to accommodate the expanding use of the motortruck and the increasing production, regional assembling or concentration markets have been established in many producing areas. These are markets at which fruits and vegetables produced in a given area are assembled for sale to agencies that will ship them to all parts of the country.

Such markets should:

Assemble a large enough quantity and variety to attract a sufficient number of buyers to establish a real competitive market;

Make it easier for the truckman to locate and purchase his supplies;

Make possible the combining of enough small lots to ship in carload quantities by rail;

Attract buyers who will operate where there is a large volume but who will not operate from farm to farm, or in markets where supplies are limited;

Make it possible to obtain adequate market information on supplies and prices, not only in the local area, but in more distant markets to which the products may be shipped;

Facilitate standardization, grading, packing, and sales promotion; and

Assist in the establishing and enforcing of proper regulations.

The Background of Past Failures

The need for markets of this type in the Southeast is generally recognized and many of them have been established by State governments, municipalities, private corporations, individuals, and cooperative associations. But, unfortunately, many of the markets that have been set up have not been successful. Often they have been established without proper planning. Frequently they have been located where there was the greatest pressure to bring them into existence, rather than where there was a real need. Occasionally so many have been established in an area that the supplies have not really been concentrated, and the result has been several unsatisfactory and unsuccessful markets where one could have been highly successful. Sometimes the markets have not been well equipped or managed. In other cases adequate services such as market news, inspection, and grading, have not been provided. Many markets have been killed by improper regulations—regulations that so restrict their use that adequate supplies cannot be brought in to attract the necessary buyers.

On the other hand, some of these concentration markets have been highly successful. The most successful in the Southeast in terms of volume handled is the Atlanta market where more than 16,000 carloads of produce (exclusive of bananas) were handled last year. These supplies came from 39 States, Mexico, Canada, and Cuba, although Georgia growers supplied nearly 40 percent of the total, and 77 percent came from growers in 6 Southeastern States. The supplies brought in from the more distant areas consisted almost entirely of those products which were not produced, or were out of season, in the Southeast, and which were therefore necessary to provide the complete line needed to attract buyers. The produce handled on this market was distributed to buyers throughout the eastern half of the United States.

Geography as an Element of Success

This market is an illustration of one that is located in a well-situated city. It is a market that has provided many of the necessary services and has not been hampered by improper regulations. Even though its facilities are not ideal, its volume has increased by 47 percent during the last 4 years, and 89 percent since 1933. It now handles as much as many cities with twice its population. The further development and success of this market will depend to no small extent on the provision of adequate facilities, and this move is now under consideration.

Another successful, though smaller, concentration market in the area is located in Sanford, Fla. About 95 percent of the supplies received on this market comes from 25 Florida counties, and a very large proportion comes from within 50 miles of the market. The annual volume of business transacted here is the equivalent of about 1,200 carloads, most of which is distributed by motortruck. (This does not include the large volume of produce shipped from the Sanford area by rail, which is not handled in this market facility.) During a recent season produce sold on the Sanford market was distributed by truck to 26 States and Canadian Provinces. It is estimated that 95 percent of the sales go outside the State of Florida. The accompanying map shows in a rough way the general area of distribution by motortruck from this market.

The Principles To Be Followed

From the above discussion it is evident that the Southeast needs an adequate marketing system to provide for its expanding fruit and vegetable production and for the shifting methods of transportation. It is obvious from the efforts that have been made to establish markets that this need is recognized. It is also admitted that some of the markets that have been established have been successful while others have failed. Therefore, it is important that the underlying principles to be followed in setting up a satisfactory system be ascertained and followed. It is more desirable to guide the development of a marketing system than it is to wait until some kind of system has come into existence; then to criticize it, and to try to change it.

It is with this thought in mind that representatives of the State agricultural colleges and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics are conducting a study in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama for the purpose of drawing up an adequate plan for a fruit and vegetable marketing system for that area. The study is being made comprehensively on a regional basis, for this is believed to be better than making a separate study for each State. This study will answer such questions as these:

How many markets should there be in the area? Where should they be located? How should they be laid out, equipped, and operated?

In answering these questions and developing the plan, a number of factors are being investigated. Fruit and vegetable production by counties, or other subdivisions of the States, is being ascertained. Consideration is being given to the trends of production and the volume on the market at each season of the year. An effort is being made to find out where future expansion of production is likely to occur. Every wholesale concentration market in the area is being studied to find out where it is, how much it handles, how it is equipped, how it is operated, by whom it is owned, and to what extent it is successful. The extent of local consumption also is being examined. Shipments out of each producing area are being investigated to find out the relative importance of different methods of transportation and of different destinations. Figures are being obtained for the volume moving over different highways. These and many other factors must be looked into before a complete plan can be developed.

The Key to Greater Income and Consumption Alike

The development of a marketing system along satisfactory lines in this area should result in increased income to the growers, reduced waste in the provision of duplicating and ill-advised facilities, more efficient methods of distribution, and a larger consumption throughout the area to which products from this region will go. The future development of the fruit and vegetable industry in the area depends largely on the markets for its products. Growers as individuals can change their production practices, but collective action is necessary to plan and establish satisfactory markets.

The careful working out of a plan is extremely important, but it must always be borne in mind that plans themselves are useless unless they are followed by action. The cooperation of growers, dealers, State and municipal agencies, and many other groups is necessary to make this endeavor a success. With 60 percent of the consumer's fruit and vegetable dollar going to pay distribution costs, increased attention must be given to distribution problems. It must be realized that marketing consists of more than a mere improvement in quality and pack, and that any program for land use must be closely coordinated with an adequate marketing program.

Farms Tailored to Fit

by ROY I. KIMMEL

SINCE World War days the Southern Great Plains has gone through two major phases and is entering upon a third. The first phase, the boom years of the 1920's, saw hundreds of thousands of acres of grassland put to the plow for the production of wheat. Even during that period farmers had their ups and downs, but on the whole, western Kansas, eastern Colorado, northeastern New Mexico, and the Panhandles of Oklahoma and Texas were considered the breadbasket of the Nation. Fortunes were made and lost. Speculation in wheat and land was widespread.

The second phase began with the depression and the continuous succession of dry years ushered in by 1931. Crop failures of 1932 and 1933 exhausted the reserves of many farmers. The general economic condition of the country at that time made the farmers' problem infinitely more complex. Many lost their land. Others abandoned their holdings, in many instances, because of frozen credit. By 1934 drought conditions were severe across the length and breadth of the plains. Not until 1938 was there any widespread improvement in moisture conditions. This second phase of Southern Great Plains history since the War, therefore, was a 7-year period of extreme emergency.

The agricultural programs that were initiated by the Roosevelt administration in the years following 1933 were intended to deal with the agricultural problem on a Nation-wide basis. The Resettlement Administration, for example, was established to provide credit to farmers who could not obtain financing from other sources. Nowhere in the country was the need for credit more acute than in the Great Plains. Hundreds of thousands of farmers turned to the Resettlement Administration for relief and for operating funds. This agency attempted to meet the need by making loans. During a series of disappointing years loans were made to plant the major crop—wheat—because demoralized and distressed farmers over the entire area felt that the drought could not continue. But it did. This Government debt piled up on the almost intolerable existing private debt that started with the drought and depression. Dust storms made headlines all over the country. Newspapers, economists, and agricultural experts raised serious doubts in the public mind as to whether the Southern Great Plains could survive as a farming country. There was talk of moving the plains population to other parts of the country—wholesale abandonment of the area.

Fadeout of the Emergency Program

A more sensible view now prevails. Farmers, representatives of the Department of Agriculture and the land grant colleges began to analyze

the problem seriously for some kind of solution. In 1936 the President's Great Plains Committee made a comprehensive study of the problems of the plains, and outlined a general plan of action. Since then the various agencies of the State and Federal Governments have planned and carried out programs consistent with the Great Plains report. By the end of 1938 it could be said fairly that substantial progress had been made. The second, or emergency, phase of Southern Great Plains history was drawing to a close.

The third phase, the reconstruction of Southern Great Plains agriculture, has begun. Important contributions have been made by the agencies of the Department of Agriculture toward this goal. They have shown that wind erosion can be controlled. They have demonstrated that water conservation measures when properly used can produce crops even in severe drought years. They have made studies that show what we can expect of the plains country in terms of soil resources with relation to rainfall.

In the western part of the area wheat cannot be depended upon as a major source of income to the farmer. This is one of the most significant conclusions of the experience of the emergency years. Livestock and feed production must come into the picture, necessitating a major reorganization of the farm enterprise in a sizeable block of counties in the five-State area. The Farm Security Administration, successor to the Resettlement Administration, began to recognize this as early as 1937. An intensive study was made to determine a stable farm operation. In meeting the distressed conditions of the earlier drought years the Farm Security Administration and its predecessor had loaned millions of dollars to plains farmers for the production of wheat, most of which has not been repaid.

Tackling the Over-Production in Wheat

The first step toward a constructive program was to diminish the volume of loans for wheat production. The Farm Security Administration required that the land have a moisture penetration in the soil at seeding time to a depth of at least 2 feet before a loan would be made to a farmer. **Certain areas** had such a poor history in wheat production, even in the so-called good years, that the Farm Security Administration concluded wheat loans should not be made at all.

It was found that the few farmers who had been able to survive the depression and drought were, almost without exception, operators with holdings running into three or four sections of land, most of which was in grass with the cultivated acres of the farm used for the production of supplemental feed. Experience of these farmers pointed to one thing—reorganization of farm units toward this type of operation. Accordingly, the unit-reorganization program of the Farm Security Administration was inaugurated early in 1938.

Many competent observers believe this program to be one of the most significant advances that has been made in the building of a permanent agriculture for this region. Drought and depression, which have increased absentee ownership and abandoned land, have made this program of unit-reorganization possible. In many counties in the Southern Plains region 80 percent of the grassland has been destroyed. Much of the soil is of such character that it should not be used for cultivated crops. In many other counties of the area a considerable amount of the land has been put into cultivation, but there still remains a substantial proportion of grass. Hundreds of thousands of acres have been abandoned. A large proportion of it is owned by nonresidents, corporations, or has returned to the States through tax delinquencies. The objective of the unit-reorganization program is to develop an operating unit of from 2,000 to 4,000 acres in contrast to the unit of one section, or less, that has prevailed in the past.

Problems of Tenure and Ownership

The problems encountered in unit reorganization are several. Security of tenure is vital. The farmer must be assisted in obtaining leases on the land for as long a period as possible, preferably 10 years. Very often several different ownerships are involved in the blocking out of a single operating unit. The Federal land bank may own one parcel of land; a school teacher in Illinois, another. These owners need to be convinced that their interests will be served by giving long leases. The Farm Security Administration has concentrated on those counties where it is possible to lease both abandoned crop land and grass land so that the farmer can begin immediate operations at least on a small scale.

In order to insure the best possible use of the land a plan of conservation operations must be worked out. By cooperative arrangement, the Soil Conservation Service has assigned technical personnel to work with the Farm Security Administration to develop this phase of the program. If a loan is to be made, a farm plan must be outlined that will show the probable income to the farmer over a period of years. It should be pointed out that in a reorganization of this kind the income during the first few years of operations will be very small indeed, and it has been necessary to extend the time of repayment of the loan from the usual 5-year period to as long as 10 years. Once a unit has been blocked out it is intended that operations will begin modestly and accelerate as the years go on.

The Farm Security Administration will lend the farmer money with which to purchase a foundation herd of livestock, necessary equipment, money for cash leases, and operating expenses. The money is advanced as it is needed. For example, it is desirable that a feed reserve be built up before the foundation herd of livestock is purchased. If the farmer is burdened with debt and a substantial adjustment can be worked out,

funds will be advanced to liquidate this indebtedness. Repayment schedules are set that will allow the farmer to take best advantage of the market prices. The variability of farm income is recognized. Annual home and farm budgets are made for each farm by the local farm security supervisor. Subsistence enterprises are developed. Diversification is encouraged with the development of as many productive enterprises on the farm as can be efficiently managed. The contributions and requirements of the entire family are taken into consideration. At least 1 year's feed supply is held as reserve. Trench silos, inexpensive to construct, are used.

An Example in Baca County, Colo.

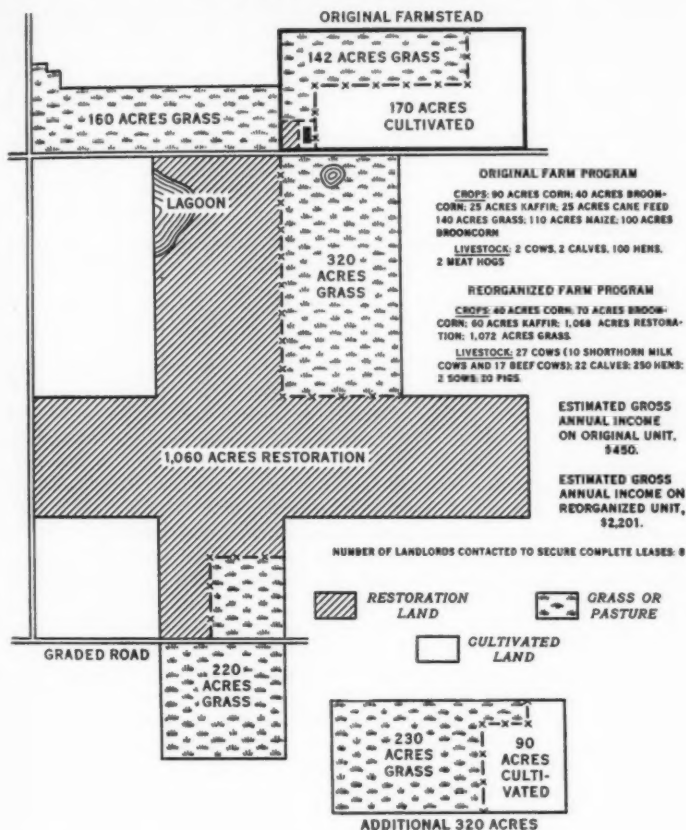
The plan provides that the farmer will develop water-spreading devices and arrange for stock water. Range surveys are made annually so that the grazing land will not be overstocked. It should be pointed out that it is possible for farmers to carry out these soil and moisture conservation practices through cooperation with the program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. This is especially true on the portion of the operating unit that is being restored to grass.

The reorganized unit of Fred Bosley in Baca County, Colo., is a typical example of how the unit-reorganization idea works. In 1935 he had 320 acres. He was delinquent in his payments on his Federal land bank loan. It was found that nearly 2,100 acres could be added to his unit, consisting of 1,060 acres of land to be restored to grass, 90 acres for cultivated crops, and 930 acres of grassland. Negotiations with eight different landowners were necessary before the complete acreage was acquired. The acreage now under restoration at one time had been subject to serious wind erosion and has been a menace to the community for several years. This land is now being restored to native grasses.

Bosley's loan from the Farm Security Administration amounted to \$2,000, which was used to purchase a used tractor and equipment, a herd of eight dual-purpose cows and 17 range cattle, a pressure cooker for use in the home, payment of \$236 delinquent taxes, \$95 cash leases, and \$331 for operating expense. His subsistence is provided by sale of produce from the farm. His cash crop is broom corn. He will sell the male stock produced on his farm, retaining the females until his beef herd consists of an adequate number of breeding cows. His plan of repayment begins with \$200 in May 1939 and is \$300 each spring for the following 6 years.

One hundred and thirty-three reorganizations of the Bosley type have been accomplished since the program was inaugurated last spring, the average loan amounting to \$1,740. The average change in acreage for these 133 farms has been from approximately 600 acres in the old unit to 2,500 acres in the new one. Approximately 300,000 acres have been brought into better use through this program up to the present time.

BOSLEY ORIGINAL AND REORGANIZED FARM UNIT. BACA COUNTY, COLORADO



Gathering Momentum After a Slow Start

While the number of farm families affected may seem small, it should be remembered that the program is new. Time is needed to get it under way. The most serious obstacle to rapid progress is the time necessary to negotiate with landowners who must become convinced that unit reorganization is advantageous to their interests. The field men of the

Farm Security Administration and Soil Conservation Service are finding, however, that landowners are becoming very interested in the possibilities of this type of program. The cooperation of the Federal land bank, for instance, which has had to take title on hundreds of farms, has set an excellent example to private owners of land.

Although only 133 units of this type actually have been worked out, 300 others are in process of development at present, and should be completed within a few weeks.

The program has developed more rapidly in Colorado than in any other State, principally because more grassland is available there. Although only a few such reorganizations have been carried out in those areas where most of the grassland is gone, officials of the Farm Security Administration estimate that approximately 75 percent of the farms in the Southern Great Plains need a reorganization plan if they are to survive.

Cost and Taxation Aspects of Reorganization

A somewhat different approach will have to be made in those areas where most of the grassland has been destroyed. The restoring of land to grass in areas of this type is beyond the financial ability of the private owner, for the work is rather expensive and requires a considerable period of time before the land has any economic value for grazing. Probably the best use of the submarginal land purchase program under title III of the Bankhead-Jones Act in such areas is for the Soil Conservation Service to make its purchases with the reorganization of particular units in mind. The Service can begin restoration to native grass and as soon as the land is usable lease it to the farmer for a long period of years with the provision, of course, that the land must be used for grazing purposes only. Projects involving this use of the submarginal land program have already been established.

A second factor handicapping unit-reorganization in areas of extensive cultivation is taxation. Tax assessments are much higher than land can afford to carry if it is retired to pasture. These tax rates are assessed on valuations made during the boom era. Many landowners would like to restore a part of their holdings to grass, but they are discouraged from doing so by high taxes. At the present time there is no differentiation between tax rates on crop land and land that has been earmarked for return to pasture. The States could make a substantial contribution to these needed readjustments in the agricultural economy of the plains if they could be persuaded to tackle this problem. Some progress already has been made toward tax adjustment in Colorado. Last year the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and several county planning committees studied the prevailing tax situation in a number of counties in the southeastern part of the State. Representatives of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics discussed the matter with the Governor of Colorado

and found him interested. He called the State Tax Commission together to discuss the matter further. The Commission made recommendations to county assessors for tax adjustments, and got results.

Individualism Isn't Rugged Enough Here

The individual farmer on the Great Plains must have aid if he is to make the necessary readjustments. It is to be hoped that as time goes on the assistance provided by the Farm Security Administration and the Soil Conservation Service can be extended on a much wider scale. These two agencies can set the individual farmer on the right path, but if a program of this type is to succeed the County Agent must mold the opinion of the entire community in which he works. Private enterprises can assist in the necessary financing, and they have already done so in some communities.

As county planning committees function more effectively, they can give their best thought and experience to the perfection of the program. In certain counties of the region these committees have already taken the initiative in carrying out this type of adjustment. In Elbert County, Colorado, several unit reorganizations have been carried out where no Federal loans were necessary.

This new pattern of agriculture on the plains is emerging slowly but vividly. It is a flexible program. There are no set rules. The garment is cut to fit the cloth. If the soil is suitable for wheat production, then wheat will continue as a factor in the farm income. Provision for livestock is made on each unit, and in most places livestock production is found to be the best major enterprise of the unit. Forage crops can be converted into more cash through feeding to livestock than through sale on the open market.

The basic pattern of unit reorganization is diversified farming carried out on a sufficient acreage to insure an acceptable income in dry years as well as in wet years. This program appears to be the best approach to a stabilized agriculture for the region. It builds a broad, straight channel for directing the efforts of all government agencies toward a coordinated program.

'Bought Out by the Government'

by WENDELL LUND

A LAND-use program in varying degrees affects the lives of three classes of people: those who move as a result of the program; those who remain on the area; and those who, without previous actual connection with the area, are privileged to enjoy the benefits of the completed project. Persons in the last-named class are such as come to enjoy the advantages of a recreational area like a park or game refuge; and those who farm, graze livestock, or find other employment in the replanned area exemplify the second group. Persons who leave the area in order that the new system of land use may be worked out fall in the first group.¹

Judged from the point of view of all three groups, the success of a land-use program clearly depends upon the degree to which it furnishes them with new opportunities or greater advantages than they previously enjoyed. But of all three classes, the families that leave the area probably have the greatest stake in the project. While the effect of the project on the other two groups is often either only casual and incidental or else patently beneficial, the effect on families who leave the area is almost always crucial, and may very well be harmful, unless the adjustment they make is definitely advantageous to them.

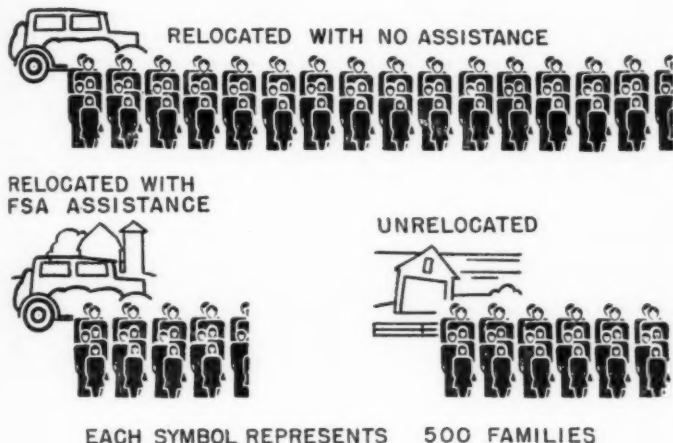
Considerable experience has now been had in working out the relocation of families living on land-purchase areas. Of the approximately 13,000 families, or nearly 50,000 individuals, who were or are now living on land purchased in the 9-million-acre "old" land-use program, more than 12,000 families have moved, or will move, from the areas. Of this number, approximately 10,000 families had moved by the end of 1938. Of this number, some 7,700 relocated by their own efforts, and the remainder, roughly 2,300 families, were assisted in some way or another in making their relocation. Many of the most capable families have probably now moved from the areas, and of the approximately 3,000 families remaining, it is likely that a much higher percentage will require assistance in moving away, or in remaining permanently on the areas.

Thus, when evacuation is complete, somewhere between 8,500 and 9,000 families will have moved without the help of the Farm Security Administration and between 3,500 and 4,000 will have been assisted by the FSA in making a relocation outside the areas.

The planning for these 3,500 to 4,000 families that have required, or will require, assistance in moving from the areas has been based

¹ Charts accompanying this article are the work of the Works Progress Administration.

PROGRESS IN RELOCATING LAND USE FAMILIES



on uniform data obtained through personal interviews with the families. Approximately 6,000 families were thus interviewed on land-purchase areas in all sections of the country. The determination as to whether a family could take care of itself or needed assistance was based both on data obtained in this way and on the families' own statement as to their needs and relocation preference. Moreover, where assistance is required, the data provide an indispensable factual basis for working out the actual relocation.

Pushed off Onto the Poorer Lands

The task of relocating families living on land-purchase areas is greatly complicated by the serious social and economic problems found among them. Except for a few families that drifted on to poor land by sheer accident and other families that were tied to inferior land by the force of family habit and tradition, the majority of families living on the marginal land purchased in the "old" program were there because they had been pushed off on to the poor lands in the competitive struggle for existence. Oftimes they were lacking in those qualities of physical and mental vigor, initiative, and ambition that are necessary for success in competitive agriculture. In other instances, as in the Great Lakes

States cut-over area with its depleted timber supply, they were the human residue of an earlier economy now exhausted. Data obtained on these families by representatives of the Farm Security Administration indicate the presence of numerous special problems which are at once one of the main reasons for their being on the poor land and also serious obstacles to their successful transference to areas of greater opportunity. This is particularly true of the 4,000 families requiring some form of Government assistance in making a satisfactory relocation.

In this latter group of families, the most insistent problems were, briefly, overage, poor health, lack of farm experience, limited education, large families, and near poverty. As might well be expected, it was found that old, sick, inexperienced, and uneducated people have tremendous handicaps in making residential and occupational changes.

Family Heads Who Have Passed Their Prime

Families with bread winners who have passed their best working years present a grave relocation problem. Unable to meet the physical demands of full-time farming or to qualify for other types of employment, they must often be cared for in some other manner. Forty percent of the male heads of the families living on the land purchased in the "old" program were more than 50 years of age, whereas the average for the United States as a whole, according to the 1930 census, was about 30 percent. On the Drummond land project, located in the cut-over area of northern Wisconsin, the proportion of male heads of families more than 50 years of age ran almost 70 percent. A breakdown of the family heads at Drummond by age groups is illuminating:

Drummond Land, Wisconsin, project

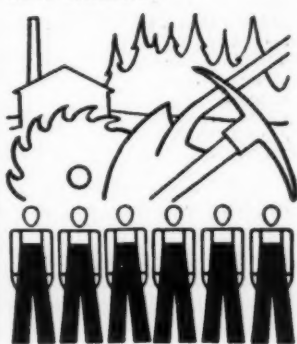
Age range	Family heads	
	Husbands	Wives
Under 26.....	0	0
26-40.....	6	9
41-50.....	9	10
51-60.....	17	8
61-70.....	7	7
Over 70.....	9	2
Total.....	48	36

CHIEF OCCUPATIONS OF MALE HEADS OF LAND USE FAMILIES

FARMING



NON-FARMING



EACH FIGURE REPRESENTS 1,000 MALE HEADS

Old-age benefits under the Social Security Act are one of the main avenues through which help can be given to persons of advanced age, and their families dependent on them, who cannot assume responsibility for their own care. Such arrangements must usually be made for the family by a representative of the FSA. Another possibility that has been tried with some success in the region comprising the States of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, is the so-called "retirement homesteads." These homesteads consist of a small home, with a garden plot, located on the outskirts of a small town, in the county of present residence. Local relief authorities agree to meet the additional needs of the family that cannot be supplied through its own efforts.

The Range from Pellagra to Paralysis

Poor health, especially when found among the heads of the families, is another serious obstacle to the successful relocation of these families. The incidence of illness and physical disability was found to be high on a number of the land-purchase areas. Illness ranged from pellagra and anemia to paralysis and total blindness. In Fannin County, Tex., for example, 36, or almost half, of the 83 families had health problems that seriously impeded efforts at relocation.

A summary of health conditions on that project reveals the following:

Weakened condition of head of family due to age and general poor health....	10
History of treatment in State mental institution.....	2
Chronic hemorrhoids.....	1
Pellagra.....	5
Tubercular.....	4
Tuberculosis of the bone.....	1
Ulcerated stomach.....	2
Weakened condition after gallstone operation.....	1
Epileptic.....	1
Infantile paralysis.....	1
Gassed veteran.....	1
Ruptured.....	3
Rheumatism.....	2
Partially blind.....	1
Totally blind.....	1

Lack of continuous experience on a family size farm is another handicap that stands in the way of successful relocation of many of the land-use families. Acreages farmed were usually small and supplemental to other employment. Only 55 percent of the families had farming as their main occupation. Of the families living on farms, one-fourth were cultivating less than 5 acres. One-third were cultivating less than 10 acres and more than one-half less than 20 acres. Ofttimes such families had never before attempted full-time farming but had depended for a living on a job in industry. Two Wisconsin projects, Lakewood and Crandon, also in the cut-over area of the State, are typical of areas where the majority of families to be moved were farming subsistence acreages. The break-down of 76 Lakewood-Crandon families according to the number of acres cultivated is as follows:

None.....	28
½-4.9.....	29
5-9.9.....	8
10-19.9.....	3
20-39.9.....	4
40-79.9.....	4
80 and over.....	0
Total.....	76

At Catocin, Md., 34 families showed a similar lack of experience with anything but small acreages:

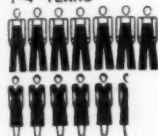
None.....	10
½-4.9.....	12
5-9.9.....	2
10-19.9.....	6
20-39.9.....	3
40-79.9.....	1
80 and over.....	0
Total.....	34

EDUCATION OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES OF LAND USE FAMILIES

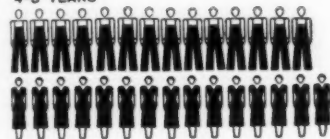
NONE



GRADE SCHOOL
1-4 YEARS



GRADE SCHOOL
4-8 YEARS



HIGH SCHOOL
1-2 YEARS



HIGH SCHOOL
2-4 YEARS



EACH FIGURE REPRESENTS
500 PERSONS

NOTE:

ONLY 65 HUSBANDS
AND 52 WIVES WERE
EDUCATED ABOVE HIGH
SCHOOL

usually had no desire to farm, it was obviously impractical to consider relocating them in full-time agriculture. Wherever possible, they were given assistance in making industrial contacts, either directly or through the United States Employment Service.

The educational limitations of most of the families were an additional handicap. In 1 out of every 10 families on which information was available, either husband or wife, or both of them, had no formal education whatsoever; and one-third of the family heads had less than 5 years of formal schooling. Only 1 out of 20 had finished high school. Except in certain projects in the Northern Great Plains and Rocky Mountain areas, the educational level was low. The Poinsett, S. C., project,

where 60 percent of the family heads had less than 5 years of formal educational training, is an example of the low educational level of families on some land-purchase areas. The tables on the next page illustrate the problem of lack of schooling among land-use families.

As might be expected, the economic level of families living on land-purchase areas, as indicated by yearly cash income and relief history, was found to be low. On 87 projects with 5,982 families, almost 60 percent of the families were receiving public assistance in the form of cash, goods, or work relief. Well over one-half of the families that reported information on cash receipts during the 12-month period prior to the survey had incomes

below \$200. Only 5 percent had incomes above \$1,000 a year. A summary of this information appears in the third table on the next page.

The incidence of advanced age, inadequate occupational background, limited education, relief history, and low income was highest among families that did not leave land-purchase areas by their own efforts but

Poinsett, S. C., project

Education of family heads	Years of school completed	
	Husbands	Wives
None	12	13
1-4 years	44	35
5-8 years	22	36
1-2 years high school	4	2
3-4 years high school	1	2
Above high school	0	0
Total	83	88

Princeton, Ky., project

Education of family heads	Years of school completed	
	Husbands	Wives
None	5	3
1-4 years	16	19
5-8 years	41	34
1-2 years high school	0	3
3-4 years high school	0	1
Above high school	0	0
Total	62	60

Economic Groupings of Land Use Families

	Less than \$50	\$50-\$99	\$100-\$199	\$200-\$499	\$500-\$999	\$1,000 and above	Total reported
Number of families	1,159	582	836	1,110	429	214	4,330
Percent of total . . .	27	13	19	26	10	5	100

CASH INCOME OF LAND USE FAMILIES

LESS THAN \$50



\$50-\$99



\$100-\$199



\$200-\$499



\$500-\$999



\$1,000 AND ABOVE



EACH SYMBOL REPRESENTS 400 FAMILIES

required assistance in relocating. Naturally this fact greatly accentuated the problem of finding a satisfactory solution for these families. But it should also be pointed out that the families that had the least to show in the way of present opportunity and attainment probably have the most to gain from a more satisfactory relocation. The poorer families are potentially the greatest beneficiaries of the land-purchase program; that is, if their economic and social lot can be bettered by relocation. On the other hand, however, and, it would seem, contrary to some of the opinion on this subject, they also have a great deal to lose from an unsatisfactory adjustment. They are usually so near the margin of poverty and failure that for them to lose anything is often to lose everything. Their need to hold on to what they have is greater than that of persons of higher economic status.

The successful relocation of families from such projects can contribute in a very important way to the success of the land-adjustment program. By general agreement, improving the economic and social lot of the families affected is one of the main justifications for the program and many persons will measure its success as much by that standard as any other. We already know that critics of the program are quick to pick up examples of families who may be less well off than they were before they moved.

As shown by the above, sufficient experience has already been had to indicate certain principles that should be observed and methods that can be successfully employed in relocating land-use families. We have found, for example, that the problem must be handled on a family-by-family basis since each family has its own, and often peculiar, problems. It is worse than futile to try to deal with these families in large blocks. They must be interviewed, studied, and planned for individually.

To do a satisfactory job, certain basic information must be obtained on each family. Most important is it to know the family's own conception of what it wants to do and is best fitted for. This can then be checked against its past experience and occupational possibilities. The brief form used during the past 2 years by representatives of the

Farm Security Administration in their interviews with land-use families has been very successful in obtaining basic information.

Another thing we have learned is that the active and earnest participation of the family itself is indispensable if a successful relocation plan is to be worked out. Because the burden of making a living after relocation will fall on the families themselves, it is essential that they be in on the plan each step of the way and take as much initiative as possible in working it out.

The Need for Understanding Leadership

The greatest success has been had where responsibility for working out relocation plans with the families is left to one person on a purchase area who can devote his full time to the job. And this person should have certain special qualifications for the job. First of all, he must be a person who can win and hold their regard and confidence. To do this, he must have a keen understanding of human nature and especially of the families he is working with. A knowledge of their culture and behavior patterns will be a necessary part of his equipment. He must become thoroughly familiar with the various elements in their background and character and then individualize his use of this information in dealing with each family.

Wherever possible, he will encourage the family to work out a satisfactory relocation plan without Government assistance. But he will also know how to evaluate the various factors in a family's own plan for self-relocation and tactfully offer advice and even Government assistance where, without such assistance, the plan is impractical and probably destined to failure. Where Government aid is to be given, the family and he will decide what form it should take, whether it is to be help in renting or buying a farm, obtaining a job in town, or obtaining some such form of public assistance as an old-age pension. In a word, the plan will be a joint enterprise, and he will skillfully guide the family until the eventual plan is as much—yes, even more—the family's own than one of his making. After the decision has been reached, he will know how to draw upon the right resource to carry out the plan. Finally, he will see the case through to a successful and satisfactory solution.

Considerable progress has been made in developing successful methods for making the land-adjustment program as beneficial as possible to the families that must move from land-purchase areas. Future land purchase programs will want to avail themselves of this experience and will give increasing attention to this phase of the program. The inauguration of proper land uses in maladjusted areas inevitably will continue to bring these problems in human relationships, upon the solution of which must, in the final analysis, rest the success of land-adjustment work.

Forerunners of Unified Programs

By K. J. NICHOLSON

WHEN, in the reorganization of the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics was designated as the central planning agency, a choice had to be made between two alternative approaches to planning and the formulation of programs. One of these approaches assumes that successful planning can be accomplished only by trained technicians and administrators with power of determination resting with but a few top individuals. The other approach assumes that successful planning in relation to economic problems, especially in a democratic country, can be had only if the democratic procedure is used. It is almost useless to say that the first alternative has been given little consideration. On the contrary, it was and is the general belief that planning for American agriculture can be done successfully only when farmers play a major role. Such planning will be primarily a synthesis and coordination of ideas furnished, first, by farmers, and, second, by program administrators and the technicians of the State college or other State agencies and of the Department of Agriculture.

It was this type of thinking by State college and Department of Agriculture leaders that led to the Mount Weather agreement of midsummer 1938 and the reconstituting of the county land-use planning project. In this project farmers, technicians, and administrators join hands to study the agricultural problems of all major farming areas and make recommendations for the changes needed to supply a desirable system of farming and to promote the welfare of the people in these communities and areas.

The logical end product of this work is the making of recommendations for that type of program which will accomplish the ends that seem desirable to these workers. To supply this goal and to give greater impetus to this type of planning, farmers and others will have the opportunity in 1940 to put into operation in at least one county in each of the 48 States the type of program that they feel the solution of major agricultural social and economic problems demands.

The Meshing of Departmental Gears

Such programs entail the unification, coordination, or meshing together of the efforts of all the action and educational agencies of the Department, as well as of the States and counties. The problem is one of obtaining the joint effort of these different agencies working on the solution of the whole problem of agriculture, rather than their inde-

pendent conduct of approaches to separate parts of this problem, and then only a portion of the parts.

Though some of these unified programs, no doubt, will require that the separate agencies undertake in these counties the administration of a program distinctly different from those otherwise administered in connection with their regular activities, it is expected that in most unified programs the primary emphasis will be upon unified administration of types of activity regularly undertaken by these several agencies. Here the effort will be to tap the unused opportunities of administration available to these different agencies, and to use them in such a way that these agencies may supplement each other in every promising way, eliminating any points of conflict or mutual hindrance, all to the end of obtaining a better solution to the problems of the farm people concerned.

In this new type of work we are not treading upon entirely unfamiliar ground, nor will farmers be completely inexperienced in this type of work. Several of the agencies cooperating in this undertaking have had experiences that will help to light the way to this new goal in program development. Local farm leaders are cooperating with the Soil Conservation Service to solve the soil conservation problems in conservation districts. Farmers, the Farm Security Administration, the Soil Conservation Service, and a number of other National and State agencies are making considerable progress toward the unified type of program in Coffee County, Ala. A similar type of work also is being done in Greene County, Ga. The experience of the AAA in working with local farm leaders and agricultural workers while building the experimental county conservation programs during the past 3 years can serve as a most valuable guide to those working with unified programs. Not only is this experience useful as a guide, but it offers much encouragement. Twenty-six programs have been administered by the AAA, and in virtually all cases farmers have been the major element in their development, have helped administer them successfully, have considered them very acceptable in relation to the regular program, and have regretted seeing the experiment in their county end.

Experiments to Guide a Single Action Program

The AAA experimental programs, unlike the unified program being developed for 1940, had to be concerned with the work of a single action agency. Their purpose was to test alternatives to the regular AAA program and to indicate those procedures which would make that program more effective in obtaining soil conservation and an economic use of the land.

Nine such programs were developed by or with farmers, and administered in 1937; nine in 1938; and eight in 1939. In addition, developmental work was done during these years in several counties where programs acceptable to both farmers and administrators did not result.

Both farm and range conservation problems have been dealt with in these experimental programs.

These experiments with farm conservation problems have been scattered over most of the major farming regions, and fall into two general classes. The first type includes those designed to test, and to induce adoption of, soil-building practices best calculated to promote soil conservation, while the second type tested the ways of making payments to farmers and of determining performance, so as to induce the highest possible type of soil conservation and an economic use of land.

The programs developed in Davis and Weber Counties, Utah; Pondera County, Mont.; Thomas County, Kans.; Kemper County, Miss.; White and Johnson Counties, Tenn.; and Upshur County, W. Va., can be classed as "practice" programs. Experience in these counties, or in most of them, has had some effect in assisting administrators of the national program to give greater emphasis to soil-building practices, and less emphasis to adjustment of general crops in the larger deficit-producing areas.

The Utah experimental program dealt with practices designed to prevent erosion of irrigated land and to promote a more effective use of water, and has been important in creating a desire by farmers in western irrigated areas for greater emphasis on irrigation land practices.

Terracing in Mississippi and Seeding in West Virginia

In Kemper County, Miss., the work was concerned with the terracing of cropland and resulted in one year in a very large increase in the terraced acreage of the county. It indicated that with the proper emphasis on terracing and with an organization capable of doing this work on a large scale, farmers throughout the South, with the aid of the agricultural conservation program, could stop much of their soil loss within a very few years. Problems of seeding, fertilizing, and liming of cropland and pastureland were the principal concern of the West Virginia county experiment. The work here was found particularly effective in teaching farmers the importance of seeding under proper conditions and of carrying out additional practices that improve the carrying capacity of pastures in this area where grazing of livestock is a very important enterprise. The program in Licking County, Ohio, now in its second year, gives farmers almost complete choice of crops grown and practices used, and judges performance in terms of soil conservation by a score card. Payment is made in proportion to the quality of performance shown, plus the extent of increase in that quality from previous years. This program also includes a special inducement for pasture improvement practices.

The AAA's test work in Tama County, Iowa, a 2-year effort, was an attempt to show that the best means for promoting soil conservation and an equal control of crop acreage is by payment to farmers for

growing soil-conserving crops. Though this program did induce a more desirable type of land use and the performance of more soil-building practices than before on a small group of farms where such adjustments were needed badly, when all groups of farms are considered, performance under this program proved to be no better than under the regular program.

In Pulaski County, Ark., located in a successful cotton-growing area, the AAA inaugurated its first program taking into account the size of the cotton enterprise in determining requirements for performance. This also was one of the first counties where AAA placed all of the emphasis upon a special crop, making payments contingent on soil-building practices.

AAA Compliance and the Menace of Dust Storms

This year work is being started in Sherman County, Tex., designed to test an approach to the Dust Bowl's soil conservation and land-use problems. In this program the farm allowance is being calculated on a crop acreage basis. The program calls for compliance with the wheat acreage allotment and for soil-building and wind erosion prevention practices on nearly every cropland acre in the farm.

A new program in Boone County, Ind., uses both a base acreage and an allotment in such a manner that part of the conservation payment is a reward for maintaining a desirable crop system. The remainder, the larger part, compensates for sacrifices made in adjusting from the base acreage to the allotted acreage. Involved in this approach was consideration of the major problem limiting participation in the AAA's 1938 program in the Corn Belt.

Range experimental programs were administered in Jones County, S. Dak., and Meagher County, Mont., in 1938. These counties, and Chase County, Kans., have special range programs in 1939, dealing with such fundamental questions as whether compliance should be checked by a head-count method or by the extent of grass utilization; whether deferred or limited grazing is best suited to regressing the range; whether 1-year or 3-year programs are best for obtaining range conservation; what method of calculating the range-building allowance and making payment is most suited to inducing participation and performance of desirable practices by ranchers.

To anyone working with the AAA programs in the experimental counties it was obvious that what farmers really wanted was not a program limited to solving conservation problems in the field of activity open to the AAA, nor to problems handled by any single agency of the Department. They sought a unified program embracing virtually all phases of the farm problem.

AAA's experience in Sully County, S. Dak., when farmers in that county were considering an experimental program, well illustrates this

desire. Farmers on the program-building committee did not consider their problems could be solved by a conservation program alone. They wanted little short of a complete reorganization of the agriculture of their county, including an increase in the size of the typical farming unit by absorption and concentration of small farms; modification of the cash-grain system of cropping to include production of more drought-resistant feed grains and roughage; increased storage of feeds as drought insurance; more grassland as permanent pasture, made available through Government purchase of intermittently used cropland and poorly managed rangeland, to be used for grazing under cooperative management; adoption of a livestock system suited to roughage feeds and drought conditions; new practices to control wind erosion; more planting of trees for windbreaks and snow catchers; and the relocation of stranded farm people.

They Wanted Orchestration of the Whole Score

The solution of many of these problems, these farmers considered, was possible only through concerted Federal action. In addition, in the field of local and State action there were many problems with which this group of farm program builders was concerned—tax, school, rural health, leasing, credit, and other economic and social problems. Though there were many agencies in the field of these farmers' interests, some local, some State, and some Federal, nevertheless they saw these agencies acting separately, independently, and sometimes not too effectively.

What these men wanted was either one agency authorized to do the many things necessary to establish a desirable agricultural system, or, if such an organization was not possible, a coordinated effort by the agencies that were authorized to work in these fields. AAA, not being able to supply a program which could cover such a wide range of problems, and the administrative machinery not then having been perfected, which would make possible the cooperative attack of several national or State agencies on these problems that will be possible in the unified programs, did not develop an experimental program in this county.

Experience in this county represents the extreme, but here is not the only place where farmers have asked for a much broader, more inclusive type of program than any single agency can supply. In almost every county or area farmers need or have asked for programs that would affect more than one of the many types of activities of the several Departmental agencies. Both farmers and agricultural workers have realized that some means of developing a coordinated attack upon our agricultural problems was needed. Though none of these unified programs may attain in the first year the breadth of action desired by farmers of Sully County, it is in this general direction that these programs will be heading; and all these programs will be the result of farmer committee decisions made, in cooperation with representatives

of the State colleges and other State agencies and the Department, in counties or districts under the county land-use planning project. Each program will represent the logical extension of work proposed in work outline No. 1 of that project. It will carry planning beyond the stage of land classification and the mere making of recommendations to the level of program development.

Farmer Leadership and Successful County Planning

What we learned in the development of AAA experimental county programs seems to indicate that in building unified programs one of the major requirements is a high quality of local farmer leadership that has been considering in much detail the problems confronting the area and the solution that seems most desirable. Where the type of farmer leadership allows, these programs should be located in counties or small areas with numerous agricultural problems, typical of larger farming areas; however, it seems advisable that this work be undertaken in areas where the problems confronting the local planners are not beyond the scope of what can be undertaken successfully with the experience that we now have in this field. Proposed programs should give clear-cut tests of alternatives that promise to be effective, yet are simple enough to be understood readily and accepted by farmers at large, as well as capable of administration at reasonable cost.

Then, too, since there is no authorization by Congress for the administration of an all-inclusive farm program by any single agency, and all programs must be developed and administered under the separate legal authorizations for the different agencies involved, the unified program should be built in the light of these legal requirements and possibilities. Farmers and technicians working upon plans for these new programs should recognize the administrative guideposts established in administering the programs of these separate agencies, and insofar as possible these should be adhered to; however, it is to be expected that a number of these will be subject to review in light of the new demands of a successful unified program.

The success of this new undertaking in the field of democratic development of unified programs will depend largely on a general willingness of national and local administrators, and of farmers themselves, to make concessions and sacrifices within the months immediately ahead in order to develop good unified programs and to work even harder thereafter to administer these programs effectively and learn the value of what is being done. This type of work is a new challenge to farmers and administrators—a challenge not to a duel, but one to enter into a new and promising field of cooperative effort toward an ever improving farm program.

Governmental Tax Immunity

II. What to Do

by HUGO C. SCHWARTZ

This is the second of two articles dealing with the work of a Department of Agriculture committee considering Federal contributions to local governments in lieu of taxes. The first article, in the January-February issue, outlined the problems resulting from tax immunity of conservation lands.

THE Department of Agriculture committee on Federal contributions to local governments in lieu of taxes experienced little difficulty in arriving at uniform recommendations for such contributions with respect to conservation lands administered by the three land-administering agencies—the Biological Survey, the Forest Service, and the Soil Conservation Service.

All of the present legislation for the three agencies provides that payments shall be used only for the benefit of schools or roads, or both. The committee found that this was a frequent cause of complaint by local officials. Dissatisfaction with present arrangements is expressed most often in terms of the effects of Federal land purchase and tax-exemption upon the servicing of local public debt. Local debt may be incurred for other purposes than schools and roads, as for example, funding deficits in current operation costs, courthouse construction, etc. The committee felt, therefore, that the present restrictions on the use of the funds should be removed.

Also in the interest of proper and equitable distribution, the group concluded that the Federal payment should be made to the State governments for distribution by them to the local units of government rather than direct to the counties, as is the provision in present legislation for the land-utilization lands and wildlife refuges. Section 33 of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, for example, provides that payments shall be made to the counties "on the condition that they are used for school or road purposes, or both." This creates an anomalous situation in many States where the county has no direct interest in the support and administration of schools. In those states, it would seem that specific State legislation would be required before Federal payments could be made available for schools.

Apprehension has often been felt that payments in lieu of taxes directly to local governments overlying submarginal land areas might tend to perpetuate uneconomic local governments that should be reorganized, but that would resist change once consistent financial support

were guaranteed through Federal payments. The best security against such an eventuality seems to lie in making payments to the State governments, leaving to State discretion determination as to the purposes for which the funds are to be used and the local government or governments to which they would be made available. A State might go so far as to disorganize the county government and yet Federal payments could still be made and spent for the benefit of the area in which Federal conservation lands are located.

Methods for State Distribution of Funds

Present laws provide that the funds arising in specified administrative units, as in a national forest or a wildlife refuge, be distributed among counties in proportion to the area of Federal lands belonging to that unit in each county. It seemed apparent to the committee that receipts from the operation of these lands should be classified under two headings and the States be directed to distribute Federal contributions from receipts in accordance with the classification.

Payments from timber receipts (receipts from the sale of timber and commercial timber products) would be apportioned in any forest area in proportion to the value of standing timber in each county at the beginning of the year for which the payment is made. Payment would be made to all counties in which a national forest is located in proportion to standing timber value, regardless of where cutting happens to take place in any year. Furthermore, payments from timber receipts in any State should not exceed one-half of 1 percent of the aggregate value of the standing timber in the State.

Payments from all other receipts from conservation lands would be apportioned to the counties on the basis of the contribution of the land in each county to the gross receipts. As is indicated in a previous paragraph, the use here of the term county would not preclude the distribution of these funds by the States entirely or in part among other local governments which may overlie the area in which these lands are located.

Another departure from the existing methods of distributing payments from gross receipts which might be effective would be to make the payment to the States on the basis of a 5-year average of gross receipts. This would greatly reduce fluctuations in annual payments which occur because of cyclical cutting and price changes.

How to Calculate the Payments to the States

Finally, and probably most important, the committee reviewed the method of determining the payments for benefit of districts containing land acquired by purchase and came to certain conclusions in this regard. Perhaps the most fundamental defect in existing laws providing for such payments, at least from the point of view of local governments, lies in the fact that payments by the Department depend entirely upon

gross receipts from the operation of its lands. It is obvious that lands requiring restoration and development before being put to profitable use, especially lands being developed for forestry purposes, will yield little revenue for a long period of years. Local governments are faced therefore, with more or less sharply reduced revenues, immediately after purchase of lands by the Federal Government.

The benefits to State and local government which follow the purchase and development of conservation lands are not always immediately tangible. Reduction in costs of local government which follow the movement of population from these areas is not always accomplished at once. Existing debt continues as an obligation on the remaining tax base. It is during this transitional period, when adjustments in governmental costs lag behind reductions in revenues, that local governments feel most acutely the results of Federal purchase and tax exemption.

The committee sought a solution to this problem which would not represent too great a departure from the principle of revenue-sharing well established by Congress, and in effect, as far as the national forests are concerned, for a period of over 30 years. The group decided, therefore, that revenue sharing should be retained as the basic principle of compensation, but should be reinforced with a provision for a guaranteed minimum contribution to be paid whenever the annual payment of a percentage of receipts did not equal the guaranteed minimum.

Making the Payment Jibe With Local Methods

Furthermore, it was agreed that if it were possible to establish a procedure that would have some relation to the customary taxing procedure of local governments, this would aid them in making adjustments necessitated by changes in the tax base which come about as a result of Federal purchase of land. In order to accomplish these ends, it was felt, the minimum annual payment should be based upon the value of Government-owned land and be computed annually by applying a fixed rate to this value. The committee decided that existing Federal legislation designed to compensate local governments for property tax losses is in some respects inadequate and productive of complaint on the part of officials and taxpayers of local governing units where these lands are located.

Since, as stated above, it is the period immediately after Federal purchase when the local governments ordinarily experience the most serious financial difficulties, it was concluded that the value upon which the minimum contribution would be based should be permanently fixed as the value at the time of acquisition. No account would be taken of increase in value through development of these lands. However, at 10-year intervals, adjustments should be made in the value of Federal lands to allow for any net decreases in the timber on such lands. In practice, occasions for such adjustments would be exceptional.

The group was aware of the difficulties of attempting to determine a single rate of payment that would be equitable for all of the local governments concerned. In arriving at a possible rate of payment, the tax rates that might have been used to compute tax levies upon these lands if they had remained in private ownership were taken into consideration. Considering the prevalence of comparatively high tax delinquency on these lands, and the benefits that result from the development of the Federal programs, the committee felt that contributions to the local governments amounting to somewhat less than the taxes levied would be equitable.

The best available general index of taxes on farm real estate is that published annually by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. In 1937 average tax rates, when computed in terms of full market value, ranged from 69¢ per \$100 in Texas to \$2.61 in Mississippi. The average for the United States in that year was \$1.15 per \$100 of value. These rates are in terms of an estimated market value based on census estimates and the Bureau's index of farm real estate values. The purchase price of the Department's conservation lands constitutes a valuation which may be considered comparable to the value used in computing the average tax rates as recorded by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

A Rate to Equal Local Tax Collections

With the average tax rate on farm real estate in the United States as a starting point, various rates of payment were applied to acquisition values in representative cases, in order to determine the effects of such payments on local finance. Some clue to what would be an equitable rate was available in certain data showing the local public debt burden which existed on certain conservation lands at the time of purchase and the tax levies which had been imposed to service this debt. It was found that a rate of payment of one-half of 1 percent of the acquisition price (comparable to a rate a little less than one-half the average tax rate on farm real estate) would result, in 75 percent of the cases, in annual minimum contributions to the local governments equaling or exceeding the tax levies previously made on Federal lands to service the local debt. This comparison, however, does not take into account tax delinquency. While actual data are lacking showing the exact amount collected from these debt levies, it is safe to assume that a rate of one-half of 1 percent of the acquisition price would at least equal actual collections by local units of government for this purpose in all but the most extreme cases.

The Forest Service makes considerable contributions in kind to local governments overlying the national forests, such as the building and maintenance of roads. With figures from a study made by the Forest Service, a comparison was made between potential taxes less contributions in kind and the annual minimum contributions under various rates of payment. In two out of four counties, one-half of 1 percent of the

acquisition value exceeded potential taxes less contributions in kind, and, in three out of four counties, 1 percent of acquisition value would be in excess of taxes less contributions in kind.

The Status of the Public Domain

With analyses such as the above in mind, the committee was of the opinion that the minimum guaranteed contribution should be made at the rate of one-half of 1 percent of the acquisition price. It was decided that any rate of payment greater than 1 percent would be excessive, and that any rate of payment not less than one-half of 1 percent, or not more than 1 percent, would not be unreasonable. It should be noted, however, that the minimum guarantee would apply only to lands acquired by purchase, donation, or exchange,¹ and not to public domain lands. The only contribution that should be made on account of the public domain administered by the Department would be the customary 25 percent of gross receipts. These lands have never been on the property tax rolls and local governments suffer no loss in revenues as compared to those of any previous period. Equitable adjustment of the method and rate of contribution does not demand the inclusion of these lands among those on which a minimum annual payment should be made.

The total revenue received from the operation of conservation lands administered by the Department of Agriculture in 1938 amounted to \$4,773,000. The estimated payments to States and counties under present laws amount to \$1,193,250. The payment under the proposals outlined by the committee would amount to \$1,512,000, while at a rate of 1 percent it would amount to \$1,958,000. While the increase in contribution under the committee's plan is less than 30 percent, the distribution of the payment among the local units of government under the proposed procedure would be much more equitable and would satisfy, it is believed, most of the complaints made by local officials with regard to the present system of making payments.

Contributors to this Issue

F. F. ELIOTT is director of the program planning division of A. A. A. . . . William C. Crow is a member of the staff of the division of marketing research of B. A. E. . . . Roy I. Kimmel, until recently coordinator of Department programs for the Southern Great Plains, is chief program analyst of the B. A. E. . . . Wendell L. Lund is chief of the community and family services section of the resettlement division of F. S. A. . . . Kenneth J. Nicholson is on the staff of the program planning division of A. A. A. . . . And Hugo C. Schwartz is in charge of the public finance unit of the B. A. E. division of land economics.

¹ Lands acquired by donation or exchange would be appraised as of acquisition date in order to determine their "acquisition value" to which the rate would be applied.



Books

The Land in Fiction

An official in a medical association, who in his off hours reads the novels that are built on phases of the medical profession, bases on them an address before the annual meeting of his national association. He believes that through fiction doctors can get at the laymen's viewpoint, and can learn what they are reading and probably thinking about the profession.

A well-known sociologist, through two editions of his textbook, urges the use of rural fiction by rural sociologists. He believes that for completeness of picturization, motivations, and reactions, the novelist's methods and interpretive intuition set a standard of excellence that social scientists may well strive to attain.

Alvin Johnson, the economist who is the director of the New School for Social Research, and who has been on the editorial board of any number of encyclopaedias, says that more works of fiction are essential for one who wishes to know the world than works of any other character.

Breaking and making land has long been a favorite theme in novels. The epic quality of that phase of American expansion stimulated the classics of the school of rural fiction—the books by Willa Cather and O. E. Rolvaag. In the years of their publication they were daringly realistic and they were among the first to prove to a skeptical public that the farms of America could furnish material for successful fiction. For literary quality few other rural novels have equalled them, but for clear-sighted analysis uncolored by predilections our present-day fiction holds its own.

Midwest books of pioneer zest and hopefulness constituted most of our rural fiction for some years. Two Southern writers were among the first to write of other aspects. About 15 years ago, in *Barren Ground*, Ellen Glasgow's woman farmer slowly and laboriously reclaimed first one run-down farm and then another, in a discouraging part of rural Virginia. In *Time of Man*, Elizabeth Madox Roberts wrote a wistful but truthful story of wandering tenant farmers of Kentucky and Tennessee. And about this time Dorothy Scarborough was writing, perhaps somewhat sentimentally, of the problems of the tenant farmers of Texas.

But these sparse forerunners in the rapidly increasing mainstream of rural fiction scarcely prepared us for the onrush of novels dealing with land problems and tenure status that began to reach a high-water mark

about 2 years ago. The consequences to the family and the individual of these conditions have now become a dominant theme. Through these books the human side of the problems that necessitated land-use studies on a large scale has been brought home to average American readers as never before.

Struggle marks these books—struggle to meet situations adequately, or to improve conditions, or to continue bare existence. Hope is faint but determination is usually there. Seeing the complications that beset every attempt to remedy the situations helps readers and spectators to realize this phase of American life emotionally, as the more scholarly expositions of the many ramifications of these subjects cannot be expected to do. Even stories that go rather far afield often have as their motivation some stigma of status or event of the land.

The midwest is still in evidence, but the flavor changes when to the series by Sophus Keith Winther are added *Mortgage Your Heart* and *This Passion Never Dies*. The farm so hopefully made by a Danish immigrant family passes through problems of second-generation adjustments and the vicissitudes of the depression and its aftermath. On Lake Erie in *The Quiet Shore*, Walter Havighurst pictures the evolution of acreages from swamp and brush, through prosperous farming, to encroachment of summer life and the utilities, all related to the development of a family.

In *The Tree Falls South*, through the families involved, Wellington Roe wrestles with the tragedies of drought and farm foreclosures in the Dust Bowl, and their relation to State and Nation. Rose Wilder Lane's latest book has many of the earmarks of adventurous earlier rural fiction but it clearly exposes the irony of *Free Land* in South Dakota which may break the spirit but not the hope of the resolute young family who are striving to make a living from it. In *A Prayer for Tomorrow* by J. Hyatt Downing, a pioneer boom town in South Dakota rises and then decays. Moving further West, in *First the Blade*, May Miller (Mrs. Justin Miller) tells the story of the development of the San Joaquin Valley as seen by a pioneer woman—irrigating the desert, developing farms, and resisting capitalism.

Stories of the Indians inevitably lead eventually to the land. Edwin Corle's *People on the Earth*, John Louw Nelson's *Rhythm for Rain*, and Oliver LaFarge's *The Enemy Gods* are not exceptions.

Stories of rural New England have come in numbers of late but they deal rather with determined adjustments to changing conditions, to the conflicts or assimilations of changing populations and to conditions of salt-water farms and industries. The bewilderment that marks the majority of other rural novels of the day is not so evident in those from Yankeeland. In New York, it may be significant that W. W. Christman, a dirt farmer who began publishing rural verse after he was 60 years old, and captured the John Burroughs award with his third book of lyrics, *Wild Pasture Pine*, told in his more rugged posthumous vol-

ume, *The Untillable Hills*, of his decision, now that his children were grown, to let his stony acres go back to the forests to which they were always better adapted.

Typical of the Central Southwest are Dora Aydelotte's *Trumpets Calling*, in which a family of five natural-born pioneers homestead on the Cherokee Strip; John Oskison's *Brothers Three*, a story built on the headrights of those of Cherokee blood, and the development of a vast patriarchal estate destined to be disorganized by the next get-rich-quick generation; and Edwin Lanham's story from Texas, *The Wind Blew West*, tracing the precarious promotional building of a synthetic pioneer community.

Turning South, Gwen Bristow's *The Handsome Road* answers as few novels do the question, Where were the humble southern white people during the Civil War? But the majority of the southern rural novels are centered emphatically on the scene of today.

If tenant farmers and sharecroppers had almost no place in the fiction of yesterday, they dominate southern novels now. Erskine Caldwell with *Tobacco Road* and Paul Green with *This Body the Earth* probably led the procession. Others came on rapidly. *God Shakes Creation*, by David Cohn, deals with the black belt in the Mississippi Delta. *Return Not Again*, by Annette Heard, features the so-called peckerwoods who are peculiar to the river country below Memphis. In *River George*, G. W. Lee describes conditions prevailing on a fertile plantation in western Tennessee, where Negro sharecroppers labor for unscrupulous owners. Charlie May Simon, in *The Share-cropper*, follows the struggle of an ambitious young couple against unfair landlords, exorbitant rates of interest, commissary prices, boycotting, and other survivals of a serf system.

These books give abundant evidence of being based solidly on facts. Many of them read like family or social documents with only enough fictional touches to give them human appeal. Craftsmanship is often faulty and apparently many of the writers are unable as yet to command a style. But they show a determination to find the truth in different locales and ways of living and to reconstruct it with imagination. They deal with people and only incidentally with principles—only as they affect the lives of the people. As the authors become more familiar with this new material and handle it with greater ease we may expect to see better craftsmanship, but the very nature of the submarginal themes will operate to prevent finish and smoothness until the facts that condition the stories and characters lose some of their harshness in real life.

That the themes can be handled with an artist's touch is shown by Lyle Saxon in his *Children of Strangers* in which a community of French mulattoes, who have always been free, fight hopelessly to hold their land and their heritages on an island in the Mississippi. The story is told with genuine beauty as well as moving appeal.

Caroline Gordon may fail to reach her usual mark in *Garden of Adonis*, but in this exploration of the conflicting lives of the plantation owner, the share-cropper, and the industrialist, in relation to their economic dependence and emotional outlook, she grapples with a difficult task and brings it off better than it has been done before.

Probably the most arresting of the share-cropper novels are *Land Without Moses* by Charles Curtis Munz and Harry Harrison Kroll's *I Was a Share-cropper*. The first is a powerful and hopeless story of disintegrating forces that annihilate a share-cropping family while a yearning boy who grows up determined to be different is broken by the conditions. This book leaves the reader with a feeling that nothing can cure such villainous local conditions when general business and farm conditions everywhere are so unfavorable, but a corrective is found in the second book which shows, in an autobiographical way, that escape can be made, at least in rare instances.

Now the new spring output of rural novels demands a reading. Several of the titles are definitely of the land, but just how the subject will be faceted by the contributions of the year can be told only when the year is done. Evidently rural fiction in this country is too alive and too well in step with modern events and their responses in human families to be safely ignored by any who would know his country well. The line between fiction and other kinds of writing grows fainter every day, as authors awake to the possibilities of handling their materials with interpretive imagination.—CAROLINE B. SHERMAN.

WHY AGRICULTURAL GLUTS DEVELOP. *Alonzo E. Taylor. University of Minnesota Press. 29 pp. January 1939.*

In this brief pamphlet, Dr. Taylor takes wheat as an illustration of a typical international agricultural commodity, and surveys in very broad terms the development of the present situation of chronic surpluses. He outlines the expansion of acreage since the war, both in Europe and overseas, and the reduction in normal European imports from 40-50 percent of its total supply to now sometimes less than 20 percent. Biological progress and mechanical improvements have expanded acreage, especially in northern regions, increased yields, and reduced the risks of crop failure. While supply has thus trended upward, the growth of demand has been curtailed by slowing down of the rate of population growth, reduction of the per capita caloric intake, shift to other foods, especially protective foods, and (in the United States at least) rapid substitution of mechanical power for animal power, on farms and elsewhere.

In consequence of the upward trend in supply and downward trend in demand, average carry-overs have steadily risen, and each year of occasional bumper crops produces a more serious surplus situation.

Dr. Taylor ignores the heavier drafts on grain and forage which better diets, with a larger per capita consumption of meats and livestock prod-

ucts, would involve. Apparently he feels the chances of real progress toward better nutritive standards are slim. He states the same facts apply generally to the international situation in coarse grains, sugar, cotton, animal fats, except butter, and vegetable oils; but not to international minerals, because of their control of supply. "In the case of foodstuffs, apart from hypothetical improvement of the diet of lower-income classes in white countries, no new demand is invokable."

Dr. Taylor gives no consideration to the attempts at international adjustment of supply in the case of rubber, sugar, or wheat. Neither does he consider the shifts of workers from agriculture to industry that may be needed to restore balance.

He concludes, "The agriculture of the white world is geared to an output of agricultural staples which is potentially in excess of the demand of the white world, and the actual output tends more and more to approach the potential. Agriculture thus faces technological unemployment and externally has the prospect of unexpanding or even contracting need for staples which are naturally in relatively inelastic demand. The inevitable result is a trend toward surpluses. . . . It seems therefore inevitable, barring exceptional crop calamities or acreage retraction, that recurring heavy surpluses of agricultural products are to be expected. In most wheat growing countries are significant areas which are clearly submarginal for that purpose. This is the obvious place to begin retraction of acreage in wheat, but to date few signs of such adjustment are to be seen."—MORDECAI EZEKIEL.

GROUND UNDER OUR FEET, AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By Richard T. Ely. Macmillan Company. New York City, 1938, 330 pp. \$3.00.

Ground Under Our Feet, like any other book, may be evaluated according to the predilections of the reviewer. Dr. Ely has an exceptional life story to tell and has told it exceedingly well for a "youngster" in his eighty-fifth year. His scholarly accomplishments are so great that he owed it to the world, which he endeavored to set right, to tell this story as he saw it, and in his own style. An autobiography, like a portrait, seems at its best when it brings out the likeness of the individual without too great detail.

The book covers five chapters, with appendixes, notes, and a bibliography. In the first chapter, while professing faith in heritage and tradition, Dr. Ely makes an excellent presentation of his Connecticut Yankee background, for though he was born and reared in New York on a farm near Fredonia, his life was governed by the ideals and characteristics of Old Lyme, Conn. The son of parents of strong religious and scholarly inclinations, who managed to live well on a small income derived from farming, engineering, and teaching, Dr. Ely felt that he could give a more comprehensive picture of himself by examining the events of his life in the light of the history of his forefathers. The fact that he was farm-reared in the midst of great natural beauty may explain his love of

the soil and his lifelong devotion to the development of land economics in the United States, of which impartial historians will doubtless acknowledge him the father.

In the second chapter Dr. Ely is "Feeling for the Ground." Perhaps, genetically and culturally, he acquired his thirst after knowledge and his determination to find it from his parents, but it appears that luck and chance had something to do with Dr. Ely's evolvment. He was directed to Dartmouth by the principal of a local academy and before the end of the year was suspended for participation in a student strike. Next, he went to New York to live with an aunt and obtained free tuition at Columbia College, where he was graduated and won a fellowship in 1876. With this he went to Germany looking for a suitable professor of philosophy, and the ultimate truth. A year at Halle, however, was sufficient to convince him that he would neither be a philosopher nor find the ultimate truth, but the next year at Heidelberg he found his "master," Prof. Karl Knies. Dr. Ely's initiation into serious economic thinking, therefore, was evidently as a student under Knies, who, with Roscher and Hildebrand, was credited with founding the historical school of economic thought. By Knies Dr. Ely was inspired, perhaps, to a sympathy for the working man and an interest in his problems. It is interesting to note that Knies wished peace and prosperity not only for Germany but for all nations, at a time when Dr. Ely observed that the Germans were very militant, especially toward France.

Dr. Ely's days at Heidelberg were very happy ones; there he was granted the Doctoral degree, *summa cum laude*. Following completion of his formal studies he traveled for a year in Switzerland and Germany, and thus met people from different parts of the world. In Berlin he met Andrew D. White, who proved an invaluable friend, who taught Dr. Ely "a fine way of looking at the world," and helped him in other ways.

In chapter III Dr. Ely is "Finding the Ground." Returning from Germany in the summer of 1880, he ". . . became aware that our country was experiencing a crisis in which the potentialities for good or for evil were great beyond precedent"—a crisis in the labor movement. "The masses," he says, "desired changes . . . in the very foundations of the social order." He made a plea to the churches, admonished that "the Spirit of Christ should be infused into the social movement . . ." that religion should join hands with science in advancing civilization.

Dr. Ely tells also of Johns Hopkins University where in 1881 he accepted the professorship of economics. Very properly, he praises Daniel Coit Gilman as a great university executive. Gilman introduced into Johns Hopkins a university ideal which still rings true—no political or ecclesiastical interference with university administration; men, not bricks and mortar, make an institution; the truth shall make you free; good salaries for capable professors. Dr. Ely tells us of some of the famous men who were his students at Johns Hopkins—Albert Shaw, John Finley, and Woodrow Wilson, for example. Wilson, he says, was an un-

usual man with a passion for interpreting great thoughts to the world, a good speaker, a gallant with the ladies, excessively individualistic, unable to cooperate with others, yet a man who early towered above his fellows and who kept on growing.

In chapter IV, Dr. Ely is "Sowing the Seeds"—good seeds in good soil. Increasingly, Dr. Ely and his associates and students participated in matters of great social significance. By the summer of 1885, Ely, Adams, Clark, Patten, James, and Seligman, fresh from their studies of "the new and living economics" of Germany, were determined to inject new life into economics, to beard the *laissez-faire* lion in his lair. "To this end we founded the American Economic Association," says Dr. Ely. Among its objectives were freedom of discussion, inductive statistical and historical research, the development of an economic literature, a new function in the concept of government in which the state is added to science and religion, a triumvirate battling for social progress, making the social interest superior to the individual interest, particularly when the individual interest is possessed by an artificial person, a corporation. These combined forces were to solve the many social problems arising out of the conflict between capital and labor. Dr. Ely was secretary of the association from the date of its founding until 1892, and was president of the association from 1899 to 1901.

Although the general economists had no part in the founding of the American Farm Economic Association, Dr. Ely, who played a leading role in the founding of the association, is entitled to credit for the encouragement he gave his graduate students, many of whom have since become leaders in the field of agricultural economics. In fact, Dr. Ely may count among his former graduates hundreds of men who are devoting their lives to the cause of agricultural research and education in the United States. Taylor and Hibbard, for example, were perhaps the first two social science graduates to devote their entire professional lives to this cause. Others interested in rural economic and social questions, were Carver, Henderson, and Butterfield, and a number of agriculturists, among them Hayes, Boss, Spillman, and Warren, founders of farm management, which later also evolved into agricultural economics.

During his stay at Johns Hopkins, Ely had been bitterly attacked as "a socialist and an anarchist." He was fortunate, however, in having the protection of a liberal institution where he was able to study economic problems, make reports, and turn out some extraordinary graduate students, many of whom, Scott, Ross, and Commons, were to devote their lives to socio-economic questions. To the surprise of many friends, Dr. Ely left Johns Hopkins in 1892 to accept a professorship at the University of Wisconsin.

The final chapter, V, is "Reaping the Harvest"—an abundant harvest, enough to add to the glory that was already Wisconsin's in history and geology. When Dr. Ely left Johns Hopkins his friends thought him "crazy" to leave so liberal an institution for "wild and woolly" Wisconsin;

but he saw "great and unparalleled opportunity," scholarly associates, a president with initiative and daring to guarantee freedom of thought and expression, power to develop a department, and to put the University of Wisconsin "on the map." In his new department at Wisconsin Dr. Ely was joined by men who were also to make educational history, his former students at the Johns Hopkins, Scott, Kinley, Ross, and Commons. These men, too, added to the stature of Wisconsin and the magnitude of the social interest. From far and near Dr. Ely and his associates attracted graduate students of a high order who helped Wisconsin hold its own with the great universities like Johns Hopkins, Harvard, Yale, and Columbia. He points with pride to his former graduate students who have become famous in one capacity or another in the field of agricultural economics, among them, Henry C. Taylor, O. E. Baker, L. C. Gray, and M. L. Wilson. He and his associates encouraged their students to abandon the deductive method of Ricardo *et al.*, and to adopt the "look and see" method of Aristotle, discover the knowledge essential as a guide to action—unusual pedagogy for the eighties and nineties, none too general now.

In addition to his other achievements, Dr. Ely has made an important direct contribution to agricultural economics. With becoming modesty, he says, "The University of Wisconsin has been a power in the development of land economics." Under the title, *Landed Property and the Rent of Land*, he began back about 1892 a systematic treatment of what now is called land economics. In 1920 he founded the Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities, later to become the Institute for Economic Research, Incorporated. He was also the founder and editor of the *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*. His *Outlines of Land Economics* appeared in mimeographed form about 1920, and his *Elements of Land Economics* a few years later. Thus began the systematic study of land economics in the United States at the University of Wisconsin.

The attacks made upon Dr. Ely at Johns Hopkins were resumed at Wisconsin where he was called a college anarchist, and again branded as a radical. However, his friend Kinley and others came to his rescue, and the result was a resolution by the trustees of the University declaring for freedom of thought and expression in the quest for truth at Wisconsin. So he continued at Wisconsin for many years, stimulating thousands of students from all parts of the earth to independent thought, encouraging them to winnow and sift evidence, con as well as pro. The forward look kept him young in spirit, and his own will, encouraged by his friends, kept him on his course.

In spite of Dr. Ely's youthful spirit, he is not unmindful of the plight of the aged scholar. Men of 66 ". . . listen to the clock of eternity ticking off the seconds, each one bringing the end nearer." He would obviate mass production in education and establish departments, cloisters for the aging scholars of ripe achievement, where they would have small

groups of students but no regular classes, would give these students the results of long years of study and experience. What civilization would promise old age security and at the same time deny the aged the opportunity to continue their profession or their intellectual interest in the service of society, according to strength?

Many of Dr. Ely's former students wish that he had remained at Wisconsin, but he willed otherwise. He moved to Northwestern University and took his institute and much of the personnel with him. There he continued the work of his institute, but he had certain differences with the Northwestern administration, which he explains. There, too, he met Margaret Hahn, the second Mrs. Ely to be, a dynamic personality, the mother of Billy, 7, and Mary, 5. From Northwestern he moved his institute to New York City where he had always longed to work. There he is honorary associate in economics in Columbia University; there he will doubtless spend the rest of his days writing, completing a biographical history on American economic thought.

The "young radical" of the eighties, the progressive of the past 50 years, still retains the forward look that keeps him young in spirit. Dr. Ely has fought a good fight, and the world is better because of his efforts to set it right.—BONNEY YOUNGBLOOD.



Here and there

★ A CONSTITUTIONAL amendment proposed in North Dakota would give the legislature authority to consolidate or dissolve county governments in counties where a majority of voters favored such change . . . The legislature also would be permitted to provide by law for forms of county government in addition to those now existing, if the changes were approved by a majority of voters in the counties affected . . . The proposed amendment will be voted on in North Dakota's next general election.

★ REHABILITATION loans were made by F. S. A. in the last fiscal year to 200,000 needy farm families, the loans totalling \$65,000,000. . . . Debts of 16,663 families were lessened to the tune of \$13,690,000 with its assistance. . . . More than 100 medical service groups were organized. . . . Loans also were made to 2,952 community groups, including 47,310 families, for purchase of heavy equipment and other group services.

★ **REPEAL** of poll taxes is one of the seven steps in regional planning advocated by George B. Galloway, field representative of the National Economic and Social Planning Association . . . The other six steps are: Creation of a southern council for regional development as advocated by Dr. Howard W. Odum, sociologist; increase of Federal aid in providing educational, recreational, and health facilities to equalize social services between the South and other regions; compensation to the South for discriminations in freight rates and protective tariffs; extension of measures to conserve physical resources as recommended by state planning boards; removal of "high cost farmers" from the land and their employment in rehabilitating the soil; development of large cooperative and collective farming operations under good management.

★ **APPROXIMATELY** one-third of the counties in Oklahoma have set up joint landlord-tenant committees to encourage better relationships in their respective counties. . . . Among the recommendations for closer relationships that have been worked out are those for longer terms of tenure, clearer understanding between owner and tenant, improved methods of farming, conservation of soil, fair crop divisions, and progressive community life for tenants.

★ **FARMERS** and ranchers along the Arkansas River in western Kansas will receive immediate Federal assistance in building up supplies of water for livestock use and for improvement of range and cropland. . . . Help will be given as part of the water facilities program administered by the Soil Conservation Service. . . . Developments will consist of ground water recovery for irrigation on individual farms, and construction of stock water tanks, farm ponds, and other small facilities. . . . All who obtain this type of aid must agree to adopt sound practices in land use and farm management.

★ **TEN** new agencies for research in government—five of them State, four municipal, and one regional—were established in the United States during 1938. . . . Two of the State agencies were set up in connection with universities—the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Alabama, and the Institute of Local and State Governments at the University of Pennsylvania. . . . Legislative councils were established in Connecticut and Illinois. . . . New research units in municipal affairs were established at Hartford, Conn., Newark, N. J., Atlanta, Ga., and Peoria, Ill. . . . The new regional agency is the Northwest Regional Council, serving Idaho, Montana, Oregon, and Washington.

★ **NATIONAL** forests are going concerns, as many a county government will testify . . . Last year more than a fifth of the 3,070 counties in the United States shared in the receipts of the Nation's 158 national forests . . . Receipts from sale of timber, use of forest range, and other forms of land use totalled \$4,671,133.

(✓) *For your attention*

- ✓ SOCIAL ASPECTS OF FARM LABOR IN THE SOUTH. *Harold Hoffsommer. Rural Sociology. 3 (4) 434. University, Louisiana. December 1938.*

In the Southeast, as compared with the rest of the Nation, there are more unpaid family workers in agriculture, more hired laborers (when sharecroppers are included), greater seasonal variation in demand due to the one-crop system, and relatively fewer migratory laborers, according to this report. The position is taken that the many problems involved in improving the lot of Southern farm labor are not subject to ready solution, but must be comprehended in view of a planned agriculture.

- ✓ BARRIERS TO INTERNNAL TRADE IN FARM PRODUCTS. *Taylor, Burtis, and Waugh. A Special Report to the Secretary of Agriculture by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. March 1939.*

This report describes a situation of critical importance to every economic group in the United States. We cannot say today that we have free trade between the States. It is shown here that public health and sanitation measures may be so designed as to restrict trade across State lines, and the same may be said of certain tax laws, motortruck regulations, quarantines, grading, labeling, and packaging laws, etc. No specific legislation is recommended, but the report indicates where changes are needed and in what direction legislation might move.

- ✓ CALIFORNIA STATE PLANNING BOARD. *Summarized Annual Report, 1938, No. 7. 441 Public Works Building, Sacramento, California. February 27, 1939.*

The California State Planning Board in 1938, it is shown, used its limited funds (\$12,500) to complete several projects and reports, including a cooperative flood survey project outlining a State policy for surveys made cooperatively by State and Federal agencies; research, survey, and statistical projects; tax-deeded land project, to list and classify data on this type of land; and a tax-delinquency study comprehensively reviewing the problem in California. Work now being carried on includes a survey of the status of major mapping programs in the State, a review of the housing situation with recommendations concerning State policy, revision and reissue of an earlier report on State planning, and a study showing how rural zoning may supplement present flood protection.

- ✓ THE PLANNERS JOURNAL. *American City Planning Institute, Hunt Hall. Cambridge, Massachusetts. 4 (6). Nov.-Dec. 1938.*

This is the zoning number of The Journal and in it appear the following articles: "The Control of Population Density and Distribution Through Zoning," by Goodrich, Shurtleff and Black; "The Relation of Government Housing Projects to Re-Zoning," by Edward M. Bassett; "Recent Zoning Trends in California," Jaqueth and Sampson; "Recent Trends in Zoning Legislation," Bettman and Nolen; "Zoning Procedure in Great Britain," C. G. Craven; and "Planned Decentralization," F. J. Osborn.

- ✓ INFLUENCE OF DROUGHT AND DEPRESSION ON A RURAL COMMUNITY—A CASE STUDY IN HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS. *A. D. Edwards. Soc. Res. Rep. No. 7. F. S. A. and B. A. E. January 1939.*

The fundamental purpose of this study is to answer, if possible, the question as to what happens to social institutions and relationships in a community that is compelled to make drastic alterations in its farming and economic life because of drought and depression. The report shows the effects that recurrent droughts have exerted on Haskell County, Kans., since the early 1890s.

- ✓ LOOKING FORWARD IN WISCONSIN'S LAND USE PROGRAM IN THE FORESTED AREAS. *Rowlands, Trenk, Wehrwein and Andersen. Wisconsin College of Agriculture Stencil Circular 203. Madison, Wisconsin. August 1938.*

The land problem in Wisconsin is here outlined for use of participants in group discussions. The solution of the problem is broken down into programs for continuation of present zoning policies, establishment of public forests on non-agricultural lands, development of wildlife and recreation sites, promotion of wider uses for county land not now in public forests, changes in form and function of governmental units, and resettlement of marginal dwellers.

- ✓ NEW JERSEY ONE-FIFTH TAX DELINQUENT: RURAL COMMUNITIES A SERIOUS PROBLEM. *M. F. Neufeld. National Municipal Review XXVIII (4) 279. April 1939.*

The New Jersey State Planning Board finds that about 900,000 acres of land in the State were tax delinquent at the beginning of 1936. Half of this area was forested, and close to 70 percent was unfarmed. Forty percent of all delinquency occurred in the pine area in the southern part of the State. Zoning, such as has been successfully tried in Wisconsin, is suggested as a positive method of changing the land-use plan that is causing so much distress in New Jersey.

- ✓ CRITERIA OF RURAL COMMUNITY FORMATION. *Dwight Sanderson. Rural Sociology. 3 (4) 373. Rural Sociological Society of America. La. State University, Baton Rouge, La. December 1938.*

The rural community, says Mr. Sanderson, is an emergent sociological concept, and the use of the rural community as the school attendance unit will tend to institutionalize it. Rural school consolidation, it is held, may seriously impair rural community life, if based solely on so-called efficiency. Four criteria are advanced as means of obtaining discussion on this topic. The development of satisfactory criteria is urged as an important function of county planning committees.

- ✓ THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION IN OHIO. *W. G. Winemiller. Ohio Farm Bureau News XXVIII (9) 6. April 1939.*

The program of the F. S. A. is explained—its long range and general aspects, and its operation in Ohio—by Mr. Winemiller, who is an assistant regional cooperative specialist with the F. S. A. Farm and home management assistance, medical assistance, advisory credit assistance, and home ownership assistance are all parts of the program, and the specific work done in Ohio counties is well outlined, and results appraised.

- ✓ **ZONING AS A PLANNING TOOL.** *Russell Van Nest Black. Pennsylvania Planning. (Pennsylvania Planning Commission. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania). 4 (2) 13. December 1938.*

Practical public planning cannot lean too heavily upon enlightened public opinion, the author says. Public disapproval will not always bring into line selfish minorities. For them the legal compulsions of zoning alone can serve. Good planning calls for more than alert and intelligent foresight; it calls for appropriate and effective implementation. Zoning is so direct and potent a tool for lending force to planning that public planners need to keep its drastic force constantly in mind when laying out proposed land uses.

- ✓ **SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND INSTITUTIONS IN AN ESTABLISHED URBAN COMMUNITY, SOUTH HOLLAND, ILLINOIS.** *L. S. Dodson, Social Res. Rep. No. XVI, F. S. A. and B. A. E., Washington, D. C., February 1939.*

Presenting the contrasts which exist in the cultural and economic factors that operate in the South Holland community and the towns and cities surrounding it, this report shows the great effects that tradition have had in permitting this community to resist extensive urbanization. Evidence is shown to indicate that probably three more generations will have passed before South Holland loses so much of its individuality as to be submerged beneath the urban and industrial influences now surrounding it.

- ✓ **THE LAND IN FLOOD CONTROL.** *U. S. Dept. of Agr. Misc. Pub. 331. Office of Land Use Coordination. Supt. of Docs., 10 cents. Washington, D. C., 1938.*

The work of the Department of Agriculture and the State agricultural experiment stations in controlling floods is discussed briefly under the headings: The Role of Vegetation in Flood Control, Extent of and Limitations of Vegetal Controls, Erosion Threatens Structures, Procedures under Flood-Control Acts, Watershed Surveys, Nature of Watershed Measures, and the Essentials of Teamwork. A pictorial review of water control by land measures is also included in the publication.

- ✓ **REHABILITATION FOR THE DISPOSSESSED FARMER.** *Dr. W. W. Alexander. Extension Service Review 10 (4) 50. April 1939.*

As Administrator of the Farm Security Administration, charged with the responsibility of aiding destitute and low-income farm families, Dr. Alexander explains why aid is necessary, and how the F. S. A. program is operating to assist those needing help. Machine methods, he says, are squeezing out tenants, croppers, and small farmers, and the migratory laborer is a manifestation of the machine invasion. Rehabilitation, tenant-purchase, and homestead programs are operating in addition to the relatively small migratory labor program to benefit thousands of families in an effort to make them self-sustaining once more.

- ✓ **TAXATION AND COSTS OF GOVERNMENT IN NEBRASKA.** *The Nebraska Legislative Council. Report No. 2. By Roger V. Shumate. Director of Research. Nebraska Legislative Council. Lincoln, Nebraska. 69 pp.*

This rather broad study points out the number of units of government collecting taxes and other revenue in Nebraska and analyses costs of government per capita and in relation to assessed valuation and income.

✓ **SOCIAL ASPECTS OF FARM LABOR IN THE PACIFIC STATES.** *Paul H. Landis. Rural Sociology. University, Louisiana. 3 (4) 421. December 1938.*

Transient farm labor has become a major problem in the Pacific Coast States, where seasonal labor is required in agriculture, lumbering, and fishing. This study points out that social legislation designed to aid the socially inadequate is directed chiefly toward urban industrial groups, so that much room for improvement is left in the social and economic conditions of agricultural laborers. The programs of the Federal Government that are being undertaken through the Farm Security Administration to solve the problems of the Western farm laborer are shown here.

✓ **ASSESSMENT INEQUALITIES IN THE ARKANSAS PROPERTY TAX ASSESSMENT SYSTEM.** *E. E. Sparlin. Bulletin 369 Ark. Ag. Exp. Sta. Fayetteville, Ark. January 1939.*

In a sample of 2,033 properties surveyed in Arkansas, this study finds, the less valuable properties were discriminated against in comparison with more valuable properties. For example, real estate worth less than \$600 was assessed, on an average, at 107.1 percent of its value, while properties worth \$40,000 or more were assessed at 30.9 percent of its value. Farms worth less than \$5 per acre were assessed at 140.8 percent of true value, while farms worth \$10 and more per acre were assessed at only 33.4 percent.

Available Planning Publications

Complete files of copies of the Land Policy Circular, which was succeeded in June 1938 by the Land by the Land Policy Review, are available for distribution and may be obtained without cost by writing the Division of Land Economics, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. These are processed publications.

A series of processed publications on land use planning work, issued in recent months, also have been made available for distribution by the Division of Land Economics.

This series includes: 1. Land Classification Objectives and Requirements; 2. Present Land Use Mapping Methodology Used by High School Students, State of Washington; 4a. Agricultural Landlord-Tenant Relationships in England and Wales, and Scotland's Activities in Improving Farm Tenancy; 5. Land Settlement Technique Abroad; III. Selection of Settlers in Agricultural Settlement of Several European Countries; 6. Utilization of Aerial Photographs in Mapping and Studying Land Features; 7. Present Land Use in Morton County, North Dakota—A Comparison of Mapping Methods; 8. Land Classification As a Basis For Land Appraisal and Equalization of Tax Assessments—Report on Land Classification Study in Nevada Township, Story County, Iowa; 9. Problems of Land Tenure in Relationship to Land Use Adjustments; 10. Problems and Suggestions in the Drafting of Rural Zoning Enabling Legislation; 11. Some Considerations in Support of the Constitutionality of Rural Zoning As a Police Power Measure; 12. Isolated Settlement and Tax Delinquency in Northern Minnesota; 13. A Summary of Existing Rural Land Use Legislation in Minnesota; 14. Compensation As a Means of Improving the Farm Tenancy System; 15. Recent Policies Designed to Promote Farm Ownership in Denmark; 16. An Approach to Area Land Use Planning—A Progress Report Based Upon Fergus County, Montana; 17. Recent Trends Toward Diversified Farming in Southern Cotton Areas; 18a. Public Finance Aspects of the Milk River Land Acquisition Project (L. A.-M. P. 2), Phillips County, Montana; and, 18b. General Framework of Law and Procedure Within Which Local Governments Operate in Montana.

LAND POLICY REVIEW

Contents FOR MAY-JUNE 1939

	Page
"We, the People" <i>F. F. Elliott</i>	1
Markets for Southern Farmers <i>William C. Crow</i>	10
Farms Tailored to Fit <i>Roy I. Kimmel</i>	15
"Bought Out by the Government". <i>Wendell L. Lund</i>	22
Forerunners of Unified Programs <i>K. J. Nicholson</i>	31
Governmental Tax Immunity <i>Hugo C. Schwartz</i>	37
Books.	42
Here and There	50
For Your Attention.	52

The Land Policy Review is published bimonthly by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, with the approval of the Bureau of the Budget. Subscriptions for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 5 cents single copy, 25 cents per year

